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REFLECTIONS
ON
THE PRINCIPLES AND INSTITUTIONS OF
POPERY,
WITH REFERENCE TO
CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT,
ESPECIALLY THAT OF
THIS KINGDOM;

OCCASIONED BY THE
Rev. John Milner's History of Winchester.

IN LETTERS TO
THE REV. JOHN MONK NEWBOLT,
Rector of St. Maurice, Winchester.

BY JOHN STURGES, LL. D.

Prebendary of Winchester, Chancellor of the Diocese, and one of His
Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary.

SECOND EDITION,
WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

ADVERTISEMENT

I OFFER a second edition of my *Reflections on Popery* to the public with some corrections and considerable additions, especially in the Notes and in an Appendix.

Mr. Milner has addressed to me a copious *Answer* under the title of *Letters to a Prebendary*, written (as it appears to me) with more art and ability, than temper or candor.

The additional Notes, which are distinguished by crotchets, have reference to those particulars of the Answer, which seemed to me most to deserve notice. All the rest I entirely submit to the candid judgement of the Reader; determining not to continue farther a Controversy, which must grow unpleasant, which would certainly not produce conviction in either of the parties immediately concerned, and to others would be uninteresting. Mr. M. indeed and myself are
hardly

hardly enough agreed in common principles to be qualified to reason together.

He has thought proper to controvert and censure many passages of my former publications. Whether the passages thus noticed are relevant or not to the present discussion, or whether they are represented fairly or unfairly, I shall not now inquire; but shall leave those publications to speak for themselves. (1)

I did not mean to use *Popery* in my Title, as a term of reproach, but took it as the common word of our Country and our Laws to express the Roman Catholic Religion. That I did not so mean it, is evident from my using throughout my Letters *Church of Rome, Roman Catholics, Catholics, Popery, and Papists* indiscriminately. It is contrary to my temper and my judgement to aggravate by unnecessary harshness of language the unpleasantness of disputation. But,

(1) With the exception of note (1) p. 10. and the additional note at the end of the Postscript.

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in fact, these *Reflections* are directed against *Po-
pery* and *Papists*, properly so called; not against
the Roman Catholic Religion divested of those
principles, which make it dangerous to Society.
If Mr. Milner's Catholicism had appeared to be
of this mitigated kind, he never would have had
me for an opponent.

I will now *finally* close this Controversy on my
part by assuring him, that I should not have
esteemed any thing he could have said in my
favor so honorable to me, or felt it so gratifying,
as the *Censures*, which he has most liberally be-
stowed on me in common with such Men, as
FATHER PAUL, GIANNONE, LOCKE,
TILLOTSON, BURNET, STILLINGFLEET,
CLARKE, HOADLY, BALGUY, and WAT-
SON.

J. STURGES.

May, 1800.

REFLECTIONS, &c.

LETTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS surprised and concerned, when you first mentioned to me the extraordinary manner, in which political and religious opinions were treated, and characters intitled to our affection and respect misrepresented, in Mr. Milner's History of Winchester lately published. I was surprised, that having lived for many years on terms of civility and amity with most of the principal inhabitants of this place, especially the ecclesiastical part of them, he should now chuse to introduce in a work, where they were not necessary, opinions and censures, which he must know

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would be very offensive, not only to most of his readers here, but also to the nation at large. And I was concerned, that a person so well qualified in most respects for such a work, which all persons connected with the place, like ourselves, would be disposed to read with pleasure and approbation, should render many parts of it disagreeable and disgusting by the extraneous matter, of which he has made it the vehicle.

For in fact, it is made so much the vehicle of an Apology for Popery and a Satire on the Reformed Religion in general, especially that of the Church of England, that this seems to have been the object predominant in the Author's mind; and the ostensible subject, the History of Winchester properly so called, secondary only and subservient to it. So studiously on all occasions are the Establishments, the Ceremonies, the Doctrines, and Politics of the antient Church introduced, defended, and pressed on the reader; and so studiously also are all the principles of Protestantism,
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all the changes produced in this Country by the Reformation, and all the persons who have distinguished themselves in support of it from that period down to the present times, vilified, abused, and in some cases grossly misrepresented.

It is to be lamented, that Mr. M.'s religious zeal should have had so unfavorable an effect on his present performance; for he was certainly eminently qualified to execute it well. By his favorite pursuits, as an Antiquarian, by his knowledge of the ecclesiastical Architecture of our ancestors, and by his religious profession, he was enabled to give the best account of the Antiquities of our City, the style and date of her sacred Buildings, and the different uses to which the parts of these were applied. In doing this, it was natural for him to dwell with pleasure on the Establishments, Forms of Worship, and Ceremonies connected with them, which subsisted in their full splendor while the Roman Catholic Religion prevailed in this Country. We would have allowed him to write on all

these subjects *con amore*, and would have lent our feelings to those of the Author. Instead of this he has in a great measure transformed his Historical into a Controversial piece; and it is Controversy, sharpened with religious Zeal and sarcastic Satire.

Religious Controversy between different denominations of Christians, in quiet times, (I mean quiet with respect to Religion) I very much dislike. It seldom answers any good purpose, and is almost always pernicious. There *are* times indeed, when it is necessary. Such was that of the Reformation, not as it took place in this Country only, but in a considerable part of Europe; when the secession then made from the Church of Rome was to be justified by arguments drawn from Reason and Scripture. And such was that of our Revolution in 1688, when the question was, whether the Roman Catholic Religion should be imposed on the Nation against their will, accompanied with Absolute Power in the Crown, under a Prince almost equally attached both to the one and the other. Religious

ligious and Civil Liberty was asserted on that occasion with the same success, by the general spirit of the Country, and by the irresistible arguments of some of the ablest Divines, that were ever engaged in the defence of true Christianity.

But in quiet times like the present, he, who agitates the minds of men and awakens their passions by discussing with warmth and severity (as is almost always the case) religious differences, appears to me to do an ill office to Society. It lessens Christian Charity; the want of which is in my opinion the worst of Heresies. Of what weight in the balance are a few proselytes gained on either side, when opposed to this? In the common intercourse of life men are to treat and think of each other, as they appear to perform its social duties. If I see a man a good Father, a good Husband, or a good Son, and a good Member of the Community at large, I esteem him without stopping to inquire what is his religious denomination. I am ready to embrace him, as the creature of our com-

mon Creator, as the disciple of our common Master; and to conclude, that in whatever way he offers his petitions to heaven in both these capacities, he offers them sincerely and will therefore be accepted. 'I do not presume to judge another's servant; to his own Master he standeth or falleth.' Suffer us to be good Christians and good Friends, without trying to persuade us, that we ought to be Enemies.

It seems to me also particularly unseasonable to revive controversial subjects, which have in a great measure slept, between different sects of Christians at a time, when Christianity itself is attacked by an host of foes, not in this or that District or Country, but throughout Europe, with all the regularity of System and all the zeal of Fanaticism; for Infidelity has her Fanatics, as well as Religion. Should not all sincere Christians, instead of making the differences by which they are separated wider, rather draw nearer together as in a common cause to defend the Citadel at least, whatever may become of some of the

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the Out-works? Is it a time by dividing the Garrison against itself to give advantage to the common Enemy? I confess it gives me pleasure to see, that men have *some* Religion, by whatever name it be called; which cannot well fail, if professed with sincerity, of making them discharge properly the duties of life.

But there is moreover another reason, of a peculiar kind and applicable only to present circumstances, which operates much on my mind against reviving the acrimony of Controversy between the Roman Catholics and ourselves. It is the situation of the French Emigrant Priests in this Country, and especially those yet remaining in this place. They have taken refuge here from as cruel and unmerited a Persecution, as ever was inflicted. They were the Ministers of the Religion of their Country; they possessed their property as such under the Laws of the same Country; yet on refusing to renounce their religious principles, they were stripped of it; many of them were slaughtered; many others fled to our

shores in order to escape imprisonment or death. We received them, have protected them; they have been supported by the private and public bounty of the Nation; and by the latter are still supported. All our political and religious prejudices gave way to the over-ruling principle of Christian Charity; a conduct this, which in my opinion does us more honor than many victories. They on their part have made all the return, which in their unfortunate situation they are capable of making, (1) by
 exemplary

(1) The Duke of Portland, in a letter written by command of the King to the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon in the course of the last year, (1798), expresses his Majesty's approbation of the conduct of the French Bishops and Priests residing here. I insert a Translation of the Letter itself.

Whitehall, July 7, 1798.

My Lord,

I hasten to obey the King's commands in sending the inclosed, by which you will see, that his Majesty has been pleased to exempt you from the Regulations, which circumstances have rendered necessary with respect to Aliens.

I am persuaded, my Lord, that whilst you receive this as a proof of the regard his Majesty has for your
 rank

exemplary conduct, and gratitude to our Country. It is however a country, in which after the severe religious conflicts it has heretofore sustained, jealousy on account of Religion is easily awakened; many are ready on the slightest appearance of danger to take the alarm. The alarm has actually been taken; and the security of the Protestant Religion in this Country has been supposed to be threatened by so great a number of Roman Catholic Clergy resident in it. (1) Now what is so likely to increase

such

rank and personal merit, you will also consider it as a testimony he is pleased to give of the satisfaction, with which he has seen the exemplary conduct of the Clergy committed to your care.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

PORTLAND.

Bishop of St. Pol de Leon.

To this high authority in favor of the French Emigrant Clergy in general, I have great pleasure in adding my own testimony with respect to those, who have resided at this place.

(1) See Pursuits of Lit. Part iii. ver. 78, &c. and notes, Pref. to Part iv. and ver. 195, &c. with notes, in

such an alarm, and to render the situation of these unfortunate and deserving persons uncomfortable and precarious, as the appearance of a work evidently designed to recommend *their* Religion and to vilify the public Religion of the Country? This consideration alone ought at this time to have prevented an attack on it from any English Catholic.

But above all other reasons, it might have been hoped, that the Toleration granted to the Catholics in 1791, and the repeal of those severe Laws, to which they had so long been subject, (a measure for which as an individual I had always wished, (1) and at the accomplishment of which in which our Author Mr. M. receives from the Satirist some very severe, but not unmerited, strokes for the intemperance of his zeal expressed in a former publication. I by no means however approve the spirit, in which the above passages relating to the French Clergy are written.

(1) I expressed this wish publicly so long ago as 1779. See Letters to the Bishop of London, (Lowth) Let. iii. p. 49. and in 1792 my satisfaction at its being accomplished. Discourse xvi. p. 329.

On

which I felt sincere pleasure) would have produced conciliation and concord, instead of

[On this Discourse Mr. M. has the following note (Ans. p. 209.) "As a specimen of the virulent declamation and shameful calumnies, to which many of the most respectable characters have, even until a late period, been accustomed to give scope, in a situation where they were not liable to be contradicted, and where Popery was the theme, I will transcribe the following passage from a Discourse of Dr. S. himself, which he has not scrupled to entitle, *On Moderation with respect to Religious Differences*, amongst others in the same spirit. Having enlarged on the alledged past corruptions of the Catholic church, which he signifies are sufficient to justify the application to her of the passages relating to Antichrist and the whore of Babylon, he proceeds to state "some doctrines," which he says, notwithstanding her present more decent and moral conduct, "remain fixed upon her by virtue of her own principles. To propagate religion....by persecution armed with all its terrors, by slaughter, by devastation, by executions, to consider every crime, even of the blackest kind, sanctified by this end; to offer the human expedients of pardons and indulgencies, in order to exempt men from moral obligations, and to make them easy under the violation of them, are doctrines and practices, which still remain authorised by the infallible voice of her popes and the decrees of her councils."—Here Mr. M. stops. It would have been not unnatural, nor unfair, to continue

of encouraging by the removal of former restraints aggression and hostility.

Mr.

tinue his citation to the end of the following paragraph and note. "But with whatever severity we may treat the audacity and flagitiousness of those Ecclesiastical Politicians, however we may execrate the principal actors, who employed the name of Christianity to these criminal purposes, however we may reprobate such corruptions as repugnant to the whole tenor of it; who can hesitate a moment in believing, that, in past times as well as the present, throughout the vast extent of territory which Popery has overspread, in our own country as well as in others, there is and has always been a vast proportion of benevolent and virtuous Catholics, who would abhor the consequences, to which some principles of their Religion would lead them; who would detest being the authors of calamities and misery to their fellow-creatures, by whatever religious distinctions they may differ from themselves; who from their own reason and natural sense of things, must be persuaded, that those who live well will be accepted by God, and that no human expedients will avail to protect men in their immorality?"¹

¹ To the Catholics (and in some degree perhaps to all men professing bad or unreasonable principles) may be applied what Cicero says of Epicurus and his followers: "*Mihi quidem, quod et ipse bonus vir fuit, et multi Epicurei fuerunt, et hodie sunt, et in amicitiiis fideles,*"

Mr. M.'s present performance is an aggression, which seems to demand some animadversion. Had it not been in many

fideles, et in omni vita constantes et graves, nec voluptate sed officio consilia moderantes, hoc videtur major vis honestatis et minor voluptatis. Ita enim vivunt quidam, ut eorum vita refellatur oratio; atque ut cæteri existimantur dicere melius quam facere, sic hi mihi videntur facere melius quam dicere." De Fin. ii. 25

The dispositions of the Catholics towards *us* can hardly be estimated with more justice by the tendency of some of their doctrines, than our dispositions towards *them* could by the persecuting spirit of our Penal Laws against Popery. These Laws were dictated *recentibus odiis*, and were to be justified (if any thing could justify them) by political necessity. It is a circumstance fortunate and honorable to the present times, that we have in great measure disarmed them; and no longer treat as enemies, but receive as faithful Subjects and good Citizens, those Catholics, who have given solemn assurances of obedience to our Civil Government, and disclaimed the principles which rendered their Religion suspicious and hostile to it."

From having had my attention lately directed to the circumstances under which these Laws were passed, I really at this time am inclined to think, that they admit of more justification, than I conceived, when I wrote this Discourse and Note; though I most sincerely rejoice at their being repealed.]

respects

respects a work of merit, I should have thought such notice of it unnecessary. For a *professed* defence of Roman Catholic doctrines and institutions would (as far as I can judge) have here little effect. The people of this Country would not easily be persuaded to submit again to a mental, and in some respects a political and civil, slavery under the Court of Rome, (if such a Court now existed;) to have their Clergy independent of the Laws of England; to restore Monastic Societies; and to impose Celibacy on certain descriptions of persons, if such things were proposed to them in plain terms. But when the work professes to be the History of a City which was formerly of great importance, notwithstanding its present mediocrity, and which abounds in antiquities, especially ecclesiastical; when the Author comes to it more competently qualified, than almost any other person, for the purpose, by being conversant with Writers of barbarous and obscure times, from whom such information can alone be had, and who now find very few readers; when

when to this he adds a perfect knowledge of the Architecture, and much acquaintance with the manners of the times, concerning which he writes; and when the Book itself is respectable from its style, its external form, and the engravings which accompany it, such a work may reasonably be supposed to excite public attention, and to rank deservedly among those of this kind, which are most esteemed. The ostensible subject will invite many readers, who would not relish a work professing Religious Controversy; and convey opinions into their minds which would not otherwise find admission. For these reasons, and especially to vindicate some injured characters, notwithstanding the general dislike I have professed to such controversy, and the circumstances at this time militating against it, I have thought proper not to let the tendency of this work pass totally unnoticed; and to address to you, interested as well as myself in what is written concerning our native City, the Reflections which have occurred to me on its leading topics.

The

The SUPREMACY and INFALLIBILITY of the POPE, with the INDEPENDENCE of the CHURCH on the CIVIL POWER; MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS and CELIBACY, with the RICHES and NUMBERS of the CLERGY; RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION; the REFORMATION under HENRY VIII and his Successors; and subsequent transactions respecting RELIGION and GOVERNMENT, particularly the REVOLUTION of 1688; shall be the subjects of these reflections. You may suppose I do not mean to treat these matters in a theological discussion, which has been already satisfactorily done over and over again by Writers, to whom we both look up with reverence; but to shew how unfavorable the opinions, which Mr. M. would recommend, are to Government, to Society, to our Rights and Liberties as Englishmen; and to lay open the extreme partiality, which he has constantly exhibited, respecting Facts and Persons, wherever Religion is at all concerned.

In speaking of Institutions as good or bad, I would not be understood to mean, that

that they are so absolutely and without all exception. Human Institutions, like human characters, are almost always of a mixed nature; none are so entirely good, as not to have some imperfections, and there are few so bad, as not to have some ingredients of good in them. We estimate them from the preponderance of the one or the other quality. When therefore I may reprobate certain institutions, it is not that I suppose them capable of producing *no* good effect whatever, but that the good is much overbalanced by the evil. In human affairs we for the most part cannot separate these, but must take or reject them in the lump together.

Neither, when I am speaking of *Principles*, which to me appear exceptionable, would I be understood to believe, that *all*, who professed them, would in practice follow up all their consequences. It may be said, they should do so in order to act consistently. But the fact is, that men in general do not in all parts of their conduct

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act consistently. It is sufficiently obvious, that they do not regulate it consistently with the good principles they profess, and perhaps profess sincerely; and it is certain, that the strong sense of right and wrong, implanted by our Creator in the human mind, will in many cases resist the worst speculative principles, that can be obtruded on it. I will not impute therefore to all the persons, professing ostensibly such principles, dispositions to act in a manner, which those principles would justify; for of human nature 'I deem higher and with more reverence.'

In any authorities I may have occasion to allege, I will avoid (as much as I can) those taken from what Mr. M. (1) calls infidel, ignorant, and interested Historians; and prefer those, who to him should ap-

(1) Vol. I. 130. Note 2.—164. Note 1. [In his Answer he calls Father Paul *treacherous* (p. 22.) and *irreligious*, (p. 279.) and Giannone an *unprincipled* Lawyer. (p. 21.) I wonder, that he did not bestow some similar epithet on Thuanus.]

pear unexceptionable. With regard to the early and fabulous part of our History, both civil and religious, I do not mean to controvert Mr. M's account, but to leave him in full possession of all the Legendary Tales, Canonisations of Saints, Miracles, and Foundations of Convents, which he has mentioned, and let these make what impression they may on the minds of his readers, observing only, that while the title and honors of Saints (honors unfit to be bestowed on any human Being) were profusely lavished on Princes, who had the merit of founding Convents, giving the Ecclesiastical Power an improper ascendancy, or making vows of Celibacy, (becoming thereby Monks rather than Princes;) on the immortal Alfred, the prodigy of his times for learning and virtue, the wisest Sovereign, and by his Laws and Arms the greatest Benefactor of his Country, this title was not conferred.

In the following letters I mean only to dwell on the more prominent topics, which

I have before mentioned, of Mr. M.'s performance; and will not interrupt you or any other reader with the local or occasional remarks, which may occur to me on particular passages and on matters less important. Those shall be thrown together into a Postscript.

LETTER
 I am, dear Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

*On the Supremacy and Infallibility of
the Pope, with the Independence of the
Church on the Civil Power.*

THE humble beginnings of the Bishops of Rome, the gradual advances they made to consideration and influence; and at length their exorbitant pretensions to universal power, which they actually exercised, and to which the greater part of the Christian world for a long time submitted, form one of the most curious subjects recorded in the History of Mankind. That the Religion, of which our divine Master was the Author, 'who was himself meek and lowly in heart;' (1) who taught his Disciples, that their superiority should consist

(1) Matt. xi. 29.

not in assuming, but in disclaiming, authority; (1) and who professed 'that his kingdom was not of this world'; (2) should be made the foundation of such a super-structure, must from looking back on it in these times be considered as extraordinary in the highest degree. Without observing the causes, which gradually led to raise the Papacy to such a height, it would be hardly credible, that any Men could have dared to arrogate such power, and that so many others should have been weak enough to submit to it.

During the three first centuries of the Christian Church, its Bishops and Pastors were so far from being in a situation to acquire worldly power or wealth, that they were always in a depressed state; and often exposed to violent and cruel persecution. It may be presumed, that the Bishops of Rome had a large share in these calamities, from being placed under the immediate eye of a Government hostile to them; and by

(1) Matt. xx. 25—28. (2) John, xviii. 36.

their residence in the Capital, being marked objects for the adversaries of the new Religion. In this state of things it may be reasonably believed, that they were (as they are reported to have been) (1) for the most part truly exemplary and pious; for such is usually the effect of adversity on human conduct.

But when under Constantine Christianity became the predominant Religion of the Roman Empire, when it was protected by the Civil Power, and its Ministers were rendered capable of possessing property in right of their Churches, and of acquiring that personal importance, which is attached to property, human passions began immediately to operate; and those situations, which had before perhaps been the posts of difficulty and danger, now became objects of ambition. They were pursued therefore with the eagerness, with which men always pursue power and pre-eminence. The episcopal Dioceses were the

(1) Machiavelli, Ist. Fior. p. 10. ed. Baretti.

Dioceses of the Empire, the Ecclesiastical conforming itself to the Civil division of the Country. (1) The consideration and respect obtained by different Bishops was very much proportioned to the importance of the places over which they presided; and the two Bishops of the two great Capitals of the Roman world, Rome and Con-

(2) Bingham's Ant. b. ix.

Giannone, Ist. lib. ii. cap. viii. As I shall have often occasion to cite this Author, it may be proper to give a short account of him. He was a learned Neapolitan Lawyer, and a sincere Catholic. His *Civil History of Naples* received the thanks of that Government; and he was in high estimation with the Emperor Charles VI, then (1723) Sovereign of Naples; but having given offence to the Court of Rome and the Ecclesiastics, by speaking with freedom of the encroachments of that Court on temporal Princes and of other ecclesiastical matters, he retired for safety to Geneva. From whence being seduced into the territory of Savoy to spend his Easter, (1736), he was arrested, imprisoned, carried to Turin, prosecuted by the Inquisition; and ended his days a prisoner in the Citadel of Turin about 1749.

Account prefixed to his History. 1753.

stantinople,

stantinople, were naturally considered as the first Ecclesiastics of the Empire.

When the Western Empire declined and at length expired under the government of its feeble Princes, and the pressure of the barbarous nations, issuing from the North of Europe; the veneration attached to the religious character of the Bishop, who filled the See of the Imperial City, formed a power, which rose on the ruins of the Civil State, and to which the savage invaders of Italy themselves paid deference. After many struggles for the recovery and possession of this Country, the original seat of the Roman greatness, the Greek Emperors, being at length no longer able to retain or to protect it, Rome found herself indeed at liberty, but without the vigor and powers necessary for its preservation. The antient names of the Republic and its offices might be revived, but their meaning and spirit were extinct. Under this dereliction of effective government, the Roman People looked up very naturally to their Bishop, Gregory II. and were willing to submit

submit to him as their Sovereign, whom the veneration attached to his religious character, his abilities, and his influence with other nations, had taught them highly to respect. (1)

But however honorable a sovereignty thus acquired might be to the Roman Bishop, it was in itself unequal to its own support amidst the conflicts of the warlike nations, with which it was surrounded; and this want of internal strength could only be supplied by prudence and policy, by interesting other Governments in its preservation and obtaining from them protection. And it must be confessed, that no system of policy was ever executed and conducted uninterruptedly through a course of ages with more dexterity and success. The Popes, as the Bishops of Rome grew to be called, availed themselves of the rivalry always subsisting between the different European States, and by sometimes joining one and sometimes another party, made

(1) Gibbon, vol. v. 113.

continual

continual advances towards the temporal dominion, which they acquired, and that amazing spiritual authority, which they afterward assumed, and were able in fact to exert for several ages throughout Europe.

The first great step to this was the protection obtained from Pepin, King of France, and his Son the Emperor Charlemagne, against the Lombards; and the donations conferred on the Popes by these victorious Princes. From the time of their becoming temporal Sovereigns, they became also temporal Politicians in the largest sense. A long succession of Pontiffs pursued the objects of power and ambition with more address, with more uniform perseverance, and with fewer scruples about the means employed, than any merely temporal Politicians had hardly ever done. So that the Policy of the Court of Rome for this sort of excellence became almost proverbial.

In proportion also as the Pontificate grew to be a station of worldly grandeur, the means used by individuals to attain it were for the most part disgraceful and criminal, and the

the manners of its Court, profligate and corrupt. As the prize became greater, the contest for it was more violent. The Church was torn by Schisms, and Popes and Anti-Popes divided its obedience. The unworthy subjects, who were in many instances advanced to the Papal Chair, chiefly in the darker ages, but sometimes even to a later date than the Reformation, were a disgrace, not only to the Christian Religion, but to Human Nature itself. (1) If all this had

not

(1) As a specimen of the state of things in the 10th century, I will only translate one paragraph of Giannone's History, lib. vii. cap. v.

The Church was in a pitiable state, in dreadful disorder, and in a chaos of impiety. Popes were excommunicated by their successors, their acts annulled, and the Sacraments administered by them declared invalid. Six Popes were expelled by their competitors, and two also murdered. Theodora, a famous Roman Courtezan, (*Meretrice*), by a party she had in Rome, made one of her public paramours (*publici drudi*) Pope, who took the name of John X. John XI. the Bastard Son of Pope Sergius, who died 18 years before, was made Pope at the age of 20.—They were no longer elected by the Clergy, but arrived at that station by intrigue and ambition. In short, such were the

not been recorded by authentic History, if it could not be proved by incontestable evidence, not by that of Protestant Authors, who might be supposed in this case malignant or prejudiced, but by the unexceptionable testimony given by those of their own Country and their own Religion, such a prostitution of sacred things and sacred characters would have been thought impossible.

Yet from Pontiffs thus elected, from a Court so composed, issued forth the most extravagant pretensions to power over the Christian world; not ecclesiastical power only, (supposing such a claim could have been supported, for which there is not the shadow of reason) but power, affecting the government of Princes and the interest of the disorders of those times, that all historians agree in representing these persons not as Popes, but as *Monsters*; and Cardinal Baronius, speaking of them, says, that the Church was then without a Pontiff, but not without a Head; since Christ was its spiritual Head in Heaven, and did not abandon it."

By such Popes were Mr. M.'s Saxon Saints canonised in the 10th century.

Countries

Countries in their civil state. The ignorance and superstition of the times gave a weight to these pretensions from their effect on the minds of the people, which Civil Governors found it very difficult or perhaps impossible to resist. They had within their own dominions a large proportion of those, who should have been exclusively their subjects, dependent on a Foreign Power; from which they experienced perpetual opposition in the administration of their own Governments. The solecism in politics of *imperium in imperio* prevailed throughout Europe. For it was the policy of the Court of Rome to render the Clergy, who had become numerous beyond all proportion, and the heads of whom were possessed of prodigious property in right of their profession, independent on their own Sovereigns, and attached to itself. Wherever therefore the authority of the Pope or the interests of the Church were concerned, there were large bodies of men prepared to support them; a kind of perpetual warfare always subsisted; and kingdoms were divided

vided against themselves by the irreconcilable claims of Civil and Papal sovereignty. Hence upon all occasions the Popes interfered in almost all the political as well as the religious affairs of Europe; and such was the veneration paid to them, that they for the most part interfered with success. From having been originally subject like others to Civil Authority, they assumed not only independence on it, but a title to superiority over Emperors, Kings, and all human Magistracy; (1) and for a long time kept the world in awe by spiritual arms, by Censures, Excommunications, Anathemas, and Interdicts, which they employed without reserve, and which were truly formidable to the persons against whom they were directed. They deposed Princes; they ab-

(1) 'Paul IV. never talked with Embassadors without thundering in their ears, that *he* was superior to all Princes, that he would admit none of them on a footing of familiarity with himself, that it was in his power to change kingdoms, and that he was the Successor of those who deposed Kings and Emperors.'—

Father Paul, lib. v. p. 384.

solved

solved Subjects from their allegiance; and suspended throughout whole countries the celebration of religious offices.

They rendered also all the nations, who acknowledged their authority, tributary to them on various pretences. The sums exacted were some of them stated annual payments. Crusades, never perhaps executed, served as pretexts for establishing taxes, which became perpetual. First Fruits and Tenths were levied on Ecclesiastical Benefices. By way of Reservation and Provision the rights of legal Patrons were superseded, and transferred to the Pope. (1) Dispensations and Licences were multiplied without number; in many cases to grant what ought not to be granted; in many others to permit what should never have been prohibited; for Prohibitions were multiplied in order to make such Dispensations necessary. The Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence also of Europe centered in Rome; from all its parts Appeals lay to the Papal

(1) See an instance among many others, vol. i. 249.

Court;

Courts; and expedients were not wanting for directing causes the most lucrative and most important into this channel. (1) From these sources a constant stream of wealth flowed from all the surrounding nations into the Roman Treasury; wealth which was employed by the Popes in the display of their magnificence, in the voluptuousness of their Court, and in support of their power. The nations of Europe long submitted to this extravagant exercise of power, and looked up with veneration to the person, whom they were taught to consider, as the Representative of Christ, and the Head of his Church. So prone are men, ignorant men especially, to retain impressions made on their minds by whatever bears the sacred name of Religion; and to revere an object

(1) See long lists of these encroachments and exactions in the Statutes of Henry VIII.

Fuller says, 'that some Protestants computed the *Papal Profit* to be 150,000l. per ann. some more, some less, but that all made it above the King's Revenues.' Church Hist. B. v. p. 189. A vast sum for those times!

thus consecrated, when placed at too great a distance to discern its particular features and to discover its defects. For while the Popes were thus lording it over the Christian world, and were supposed (by the vulgar at least) supreme in piety as well as in power; the subjects of their own small state were continually rebelling; (1) their residence at Rome was rendered so uncomfortable, their authority and even safety so precarious, that they removed to Avignon in Provence, and resided there during seventy years; and the manners of their Court are represented by their own Authors as exhibiting corruption and depravity in an extreme degree. Dante is continually inveighing against them, and scruples not to apply to Rome the name of Babylon, the great Harlot of the Apocalypse, (2) Petrarch, an Ecclesiastic and a Courtier, gives a like picture of them; (3) and Machiavelli

(1) Machiavelli, Ist. Fior. lib. i. p. 25. ed. Baretti.

(2) Inf. can. xix.

(3) Ep. sine titulo, v. viii. xvi. and Sonn. lib. iii. De

Chivelli attributes the loss of all sense of Religion in his time in Italy to that Court, which had corrupted the manners of the whole country, and would corrupt those of the most virtuous country, (such as Switzerland then was) wherever it should reside. (1)

And yet this is the power, which Mr. M. thinks our old Monarchs should not have resisted in defence of their own rights of sovereignty and those of their people. He appears to wish, that Great Britain and Britons were still subject to it. He would have the Clergy independent of the Civil Power, not amenable to its jurisdiction, nor when offending against the peace of Society punishable by the Laws, which protect it. Does he suppose, that any Body of men, born and living under an established Government, possessing property and having it secured to them by those Laws, should

*l'empia Babilonia—Fiamma dal Ciel—Fontana di Dolore—
L'avara Babilonia.*

(1) Discorsi, lib. i. cap. xii.

be exempted from their cognizance; and that an appeal should be made to a Foreign Power, in a distant country, to assert their rights or to punish their crimes? Protection and Obedience surely are reciprocal. If you chuse to be protected, you should be content also to obey. There might not be much humanity in King John's (1) refusing to have the murderer of a Priest brought to justice; but there was good reasoning in it. If the Priest, had he been the murderer, was not amenable to the justice of his country; he was not, strictly speaking, intitled to its protection. (2)

The Constitutions of Clarendon were meant by Henry II. to be a barrier against the increasing aggressions of Ecclesiastical power; and were conceived in wise and

(1) Vol. i. p. 236.

(2) For a view of the gradual acquisition of power by the Popes, of the means by which it was acquired, and of their extreme abuse of it, see a long and very curious passage belonging to the 4th book of Guicciardini's History, expunged from the common editions, but added in that of Venice 1738.

just policy. (1) The pretensions of the Court of Rome, and of the Clergy dependent on it, were absolutely inconsistent with Civil Government; they were at that time making rapid and continual advances; nothing could exceed the zeal and fanaticism of the Clergy, by which they were supported; and whenever these were exerted in any remarkable instance or with peculiar perseverance, the persons suffering in such a cause were sure of being considered, as possessing the highest degree of religious merit, and after their death perhaps of being canonised.

This was the case of Becket, who was a Martyr to the high pretensions of the Church, dying in their defence with a constancy worthy of a better cause. He had carried on with his Sovereign, to whose favor he was indebted for all his greatness, a most violent and pertinacious contest; and had adhered to his demands with inflexible obstinacy. Whenever in the diffe-

(1) Blackstone's Com. vol. iv. p. 413. 4to. ed.

rent stages of the dispute any reconciliation had been attempted, he always refused accepting such proposals except with reservations, which destroyed their effect; and once at a conference before Lewis King of France, Henry said, "There have been many Kings of England before me, some who had more power than I, and others who had less. There have been before him many Archbishops of Canterbury great and holy men. What therefore the greatest and holiest of his Predecessors did for the least of mine, let him do for me, and I shall be satisfied." (1) This however did not satisfy Becket.

His murder, with which this contest terminated, was an act highly criminal in the persons concerned, and to the King in its consequences most distressing and unfortunate; no penances, no humiliations were enough to atone for the undesigned and indirect part he might have in it. Becket himself became a Martyr and Saint of the

(1) Lord Littleton, Henry II. B. iii. vol. ii. p. 508.

first celebrity, to whose shrine Pilgrims without number resorted, as long as Popery continued the established Religion of this Country; and to his memory, as the Champion of the Church, were paid honors greater than ever were bestowed on any of his countrymen for the truest piety, the most exalted virtue, and the purest patriotism.

I will add only on the subject of Becket, that part of Henry's character, which relates to it, as given by Lord Littleton, whom I have just cited; an Historian not falling under the general charge of infidelity or ignorance, in which Mr. M. involves most modern Historians, and who has been thought in his account of the transaction not partial to the King. "Notwithstanding the superstition and bigotry of the times these two Princes (Henry the I. and II. whom he compares) considered their royal prerogatives in ecclesiastical matters as a part of sovereignty, from which their duty to their people and therefore to God (for these duties can never stand in opposition

to each other) would not suffer them to depart. Each was forced to contend with a Primate of England raised by himself to that station; and with all the authority of the See of Rome, when that authority was become most imperious and most dreadful. Each exerted great spirit in this troublesome contest. But Henry I. concluded his quarrel with Anselm much more to his honor, than Henry II. ended his with Becket; because the plan of the latter was interrupted and disturbed by the effects of his passions; whereas the former had no passions which prudence did not controul." (1)

(The complete degradation of this kingdom under the Papal power, which even Mr. M. allows to have been carried rather too far, but to which the principles he defends naturally led, was reserved for John, Henry's degenerate and flagitious Son. At the requisition of the Pope's Delegate he resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his

(1) B. v. vol. iii. p. 515.

Successors in the Apostolic Chair, agreed to hold these dominions, as a Feudatory of the Church of Rome, by the annual payment of 1000 marks, 700 for England and 300 for Ireland; and did homage to the Legate in its full form, with all the ceremonies required in it expressive of vassalage and subjection. This disgrace however was too much for the Nation to bear, though the insolence of a Pontiff might impose and the meanness of a King incur it. (1)

In giving this unfavorable picture of the Court of Rome, I would not be understood to mean, that *all* their Pontiffs (after they were possessed of great power) were bad men, or *all* their public conduct indiscriminately wicked. Many of them were undoubtedly truly pious; were learned according to the opinions and erudition of their times, and encouraged learning in others; checked often the violence of rude nations in their feudal state, who were continually recurring to hostility, by their in-

(1) The kingdom of Naples was holden for ages as a Fief of the See of Rome.

terposition and authority, and composed national differences by upright arbitration. But these good effects were much overbalanced by the general system both of their Religion and Politics, a system pursued uninterruptedly and invariably: insomuch that even the virtues of many individuals, who were placed in that high situation, became in their effects pernicious, while they carried on that system from motives of conscience and from mistaken piety, which had originated in others from the worst motives of worldly policy. And it is from this policy, that we must take (whether we will or no) the general character of the Papal power; because it is this, which marks its principal features both in the religious and political transactions of the world.

But to have done with these extravagant and ridiculous pretensions, ridiculous to us, but very serious to our ancestors, who had their own minds and the minds of all around them obscured by the ignorance, and enthralled by the superstition of the times in which they lived; let us consider a National Church in its true character.

Internal

Internal Religion, that which passes in private between an individual and his Creator, is not an object of human cognizance; the individual is not responsible to any other, than the Being to whom his thoughts or addresses are directed. But as this Being has given us a social character, it is not enough for us to exercise our religion in this solitary way, confined to ourselves alone. We feel dissatisfied, if we cannot join with others in addressing the Deity, (1) in acknowledging our dependence on him, praying him to supply our wants, imploring forgiveness of him for the offences of which we are conscious, and expressing our thankfulness to him for benefits received. We do not only feel ourselves dissatisfied at being unable thus to join with others in divine worship, but this society of worship tends to

(1) From the accounts of the Missions of our Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and promoting Christian Knowledge, it continually appears with what earnestness persons, removed at a distance from the opportunities of Public Worship, wish to be placed within its reach,

animate

animate and diffuse our religious disposition. No effect of the social principle implanted in our nature is more remarkable than that of assimilation, making us grow like each other; it insensibly communicates in some degree the same habits, the same feelings, the same manner of thinking and acting. Add to this, that the solitary religion of an individual must consist in contemplation chiefly. Now there are few minds, either disposed to exercise it on difficult subjects, removed from the common concerns of life, or indeed able to continue it long with any good effect. From this difficulty or inability the mind is relieved by Public Worship; the communication between Man and his invisible Creator is rendered by it in some sort visible; by the intervention of sensible objects, by certain prescribed forms, and audible addresses to the Deity, that Worship, which without them almost escapes us, and from its spirituality can hardly take hold of our minds, becomes substantial and effective.

This external and social Religion, exercised

cised in Public Worship, is very important to the welfare of every Country; as it is more or less conformable to the opinions, and perhaps the prejudices, of the Country itself, and as it recommends with greater or less purity and effect those moral and religious duties, which are the bonds of human society and the sources of human happiness. Between the different modes and tendencies of different religious sects the Magistrate is to chuse, which he will make the National Religion, as most useful, most adapted to his Country, by giving it a decided preference and making a competent public provision for its Ministers; other sects he will merely tolerate; others as pernicious (if there should be any such) he would totally exclude. (1)

If

(1) "It will be urged perhaps, that I have considered a Church as an Institution merely human; whereas the *Christian* Church derives its authority from God.—This will be readily admitted; but the Divinity of its origin is a circumstance of no moment in the present inquiry. For there is not the least reason to presume, that the Founders of our holy Religion intended

If therefore the power and duty of the Magistrate be here truly represented, to him must the National Religion be subject. The property, which affords the provision of it, and has in fact been for the most part, intended it to be governed by any rules, or on any principles, opposite to those which Nature and Reason prescribe. They appointed indeed Ministers and Offices of Religion; it was scarce possible for any Religion to subsist without them. They established a form of Church Government; for the Church must be governed in some form, or there could be no government. But their directions to us are for the most part very general. Even their example must be cautiously urged in different circumstances."

Balguy's 1st Cons. Sermon. p. 104.

Whether in the United States of America any preference is given by each Government to one particular religious Sect; or whether the conduct of different States is uniform in this respect, I am not well informed. But, if no such preference is given, we may consider it as an experiment, which has hardly been tried long enough for a proper judgement to be formed of its success.—A Friend, on whose accuracy I can depend, has since communicated to me the following particulars. 'In North America, while subject to the Crown of Great Britain, the Church of England was regularly established in the three provinces of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, by Acts of their

of the established Clergy (whether it be strictly speaking the property of the State or not, which may be a dispute of words) is at least applicable by him who presides over it, and has in fact been for the most

their respective Legislatures; and it was also established in the same manner in some parts of the province of New York, near the city of New York. The Protestant Religion also, according to the Independent or Congregational form of Government, was established in the same manner in the two populous provinces of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut in New England. Since the Independence of North America, I have been informed, that all these Establishments have been abolished, and Religious Worship left to the support of Voluntary Contributions. The consequence of this change has been in the province of Virginia (as I have been well assured by a person, who has been there within these few years) that many of the Churches have been abandoned as places of Worship, and are converted into warehouses of Tobacco. This account is confirmed by very recent Travellers in America, the Duke de Liancourt Rochefoucault, and Mr. Weld. They agree in the ruinous state of almost all the Churches in Virginia, in the neglect of Public Worship, and represent the people there as hardly having any sense of Religion. See Lianc. vol. iii. p. 50. Weld, vol. 1. p. 177.

part so applied. For to instance only in our own Country; the revenues of the Roman Catholic Clergy (those I mean, which escaped the rapacity of Henry VIII. and his Successors, and of their Courtiers) were at the Reformation transferred to the Clergy of the Reformed Church of England; after the Civil War and during the Usurpation they were applied to the support of the mode of Religion approved by that Government; and on the Restoration and re-establishment of the Church of England they were also restored to it. This indeed must be so; for every Government (that is every Legislature) having the power of annexing what conditions it thinks proper to the enjoyment of every kind of property, especially property applied to public purposes, can of course exclude whomsoever it pleases by the conditions required.

It is therefore a solecism in any Government to have the Public Religion, authorised and supported as such, independent on itself. To have it dependent on a Foreign Potentate of whatever description, must be
productive

productive (as indeed it has always proved) of the greatest inconvenience and confusion. "The principle of the Independence of the Church upon the State, (saith our late excellent Friend, Dr. Balguy) has too often insinuated itself into the minds of Protestants as well as Papists, and is absolutely destructive of the peace of Society. Every one knows the prevalence of this tenet in the Church of Rome; the wars, the murders, the miseries it has produced for a succession of ages. If there be Protestants (under whatever denomination,) who maintain the same doctrine, it highly concerns the Magistrate to be on his guard against them, and to use all possible means of excluding them from every office of trust, whether in Church or State." (1) "Whether it be Pope or Council; Bishops or Presbyters; whether it be the pride of Philosophy, or the folly of Superstition, or the madness of Enthusiasm; whoever or whatever it be, that rivals the authority of the

(1) Discourses. Charge v. p. 267.

D

Magistrate,

Magistrate, may and must be restrained from doing public mischief." (1)

This evil then was done away by the Reformation; the Church of England was delivered from a foreign tyranny, and the Nation at large from the interference of a foreign power, unlimited in its pretensions of authority, in its pecuniary exactions insatiable, and continually counteracting all legitimate Government. This, independently of Doctrines, was itself a great advantage. The Supremacy of the Church was vested, where it ought to be, in the Supreme Magistrate of the State; the Ecclesiastical Law of the country was put in

(1) Ibid. p. 276. See also his two Consecration Sermons, Discourses vi. and vii. in which the whole subject of Church-Authority is treated with a precision of thought and correctness of reasoning almost peculiar to the Author. See these, especially concerning the Independence of the Church on the State, pp. 100, 114, 126.

France, though a Catholic country, was so sensible of the evil of this Independence, that she always resisted it. See among other instances Thuan. Hist. lib. xxviii. cap. xviii. and lib. cxiv. cap. i.

due

due subordination to the *Law of the Land*, and administered under the same authority; and whether this Supreme Magistrate happened to be the capricious and cruel Lay-Pope Henry VIII. the amiable and promising Edward, or the able and imperious Elizabeth, this power was rightly placed in their hands, because in their hands was placed the Civil power of the State. If it be thought fit to take the personal character of these Heads of our Church into consideration, its Supremacy may be thought at least to reside as well in the breast of a Tyrant like Henry, a Youth like Edward, or a Woman like Elizabeth, as the Supremacy of the whole Christian Church, and the Infallibility attached to it, in that of a Sixtus IV. (1) an Alexander VI. (2) and a Julius III. (3)

Speaking

(1) Sixtus IV. was the instigator of a conspiracy to assassinate Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, and to change the government of Florence. The assassination was to take place *in the principal Church*, where a *Cardinal Legate* was present, and the signal for it was to be *the elevation of the Host*. Giuliano was killed on

Speaking of Infallibility, I cannot help congratulating ourselves as Protestants, for the spot. Lorenzo was wounded by *two Priests*, who had undertaken his murder, but escaped. The *Arch-bishop of Pisa*, who in the mean time had attempted to overpower the Magistrates and possess himself of the seat of government, failed in his attempt, and was hung in his pontifical robes from one of the windows of the Palace. For this act of justice Sixtus excommunicated Lorenzo and the Magistrates of Florence.—Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Med. who inserts the Bull of excommunication in his Appendix, and justly calls it 'one of the most extraordinary specimens of priestly arrogance, that ever insulted the common sense of mankind.' Vol. i. p. 209.

(2) Si quelqu'un le surpassa dans ses abominations et dans ses crimes, ce fut Cesar Borgia, son Fils Bâtard. Mezeray, Abr. Chron. Hist. Fran. Charles VIII.

He was indeed a Monster, to whom History can hardly produce an equal.

(3) Is, soluti ad omnem licentiam animi homo, statim adepta dignitate qualis esset omnibus manifestum fecit. Nam cum antiquæ consuetudinis sit, ut novus Pontifex galerum cui velit suum largiatur, eum juveni cuidam, cui Innocentio nomen, quique, quod in familia simiæ curam gereret, Simiæ etiam post adeptam dignitatem nomen retinuit, cognomine etiam suo atque insignibus attributis donavit; [& cum antea in deliciis habuisset, rursus in pristinam consuetudinem admisit.] Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. cap. x.

not

not pretending to possess it; it is the most inconvenient and embarrassing pretension in the world. For as all human transactions, and the opinions, which have at different times prevailed, partake of the imperfections and passions of mankind from whom they proceed, it is impossible, that the course of acting or thinking of any particular description of men through a long succession of time, can be in all respects right; and on being reviewed either by the Historian who relates past events, or the Moralist who judges of them, can merit indiscriminate approbation and assent. This is true even with respect to those transactions, where human nature appears to most advantage; where History records the actions and opinions of men comparatively good and virtuous; of those, who have endeavoured to promote the happiness of their countrymen by wise legislation, and just, but vigorous, government; who have laboured to instruct and improve the age, in which they lived, by establishing useful truths, and enforcing moral and re-

ligious duty. Yet in judging of such men we shall not meet with every thing to be approved; there will always appear, that mixture of imperfection, which pervades all human affairs; that alloy, which abates somewhat of the value in whatever we think in this world most estimable.

The faulty conduct of men, either as individuals or in aggregate bodies, is best corrected by Experience. We every day see its use in common life; and the greatest advantage we derive from History with respect to public affairs is the picture it holds forth to us of the faults, the mistakes, and consequent misfortunes of our predecessors, so that by such examples we may be taught to avoid them. And in profiting by this admonition of experience consists a great part of human wisdom. It were better certainly, that we should always act and think rightly; but as this cannot be, the next best thing is to be sensible of what is wrong, to retract and to amend it.

But to this, Infallibility opposes an insurmountable obstacle. If what our Predecessors

decessors have said or done be always right with respect to any subject, religion for instance, there is no room for amendment. The state of Human Nature however makes this impossible (as I have said) even under its most favorable aspect. How much more apparent is the impossibility, when this quality, more than human, is claimed for a long succession of men, many of them confessedly the most profligate and unprincipled, who used their power, which (whatever it was) ought to have been wholly spiritual, to the worst purposes of worldly policy, to the gratification of the most inordinate ambition; who invariably pursued this object by wars, by usurpations, by crimes of the blackest kind; who took on them to pronounce *ex cathedra* what the whole Christian Church should believe, not only then but for ever, what rites they should observe; determining magisterially on the most difficult and abstruse questions, and adapting their determinations to their politics! The pretension, if it were not so insulting to common reason

and common sense, and had not been made such an instrument of power ill-employed, would only be ridiculous. Neither is the case made better by ascribing Infallibility to Councils; for they consist of fallible men, the aggregate of whom can never compose Infallibility; of men with all their passions and prejudices about them; which are directed, as large assemblies are apt to be, by the ability and address of a few leaders, and governed by cabal and intrigue. That this was notoriously the case with the last Council, that of Trent, which has completed the fabric of Popery, as it exists in our days, we know from the most authentic accounts and most convincing evidence.

But what is the task of a poor Catholic Writer, who is obliged to support all this, all that the Councils and Popes have ever said or done; to defend, what on the face of it is indefensible! And this has been an increasing fund of difficulty. These indefensible things have been accumulating during a long succession of ages, and
were

(were the Papal power to continue) would go on accumulating. But there is no retreating, *vestigia nulla retrorsum*; to do this would be a dereliction of the principle; it would be giving up the citadel of Popery. Do you not pity then under such circumstances a learned man, like Cardinal Baronius, who undertakes to write voluminous Annals of the Church? And our pity in this view may even be extended to Mr. M. who makes the History of Winchester the vehicle of its Defence. (1)

As for ourselves, we can join with Mr. M. or any other Catholic, and very cordially, in disapproving the conduct of our

(1) No reasoning can be more fallacious respecting the providence of God, and his government of the world, than that, which infers, that, because we think a thing *should* be so, in order to be consistent with our idea of the divine perfections, it therefore *is* so; though perhaps it is contradicted by the plainest matter of fact. Probably some such reasoning contributed to establish Papal Infallibility. 'God cannot be supposed to have left his Church without an infallible Guide; the Pope therefore is that Guide.' Such reasoning is apt to be employed on other occasions.

Protestant

Protestant predecessors in many instances. Many of the leading Reformers, both in our own and foreign Churches, were very eminent, learned, and virtuous men; we have great obligations to them, for the detection of religious errors, for asserting what appeared to them religious truths, for their intrepidity and constancy in enduring the dreadful sufferings to which on this account they were exposed; but still they were only men, they were not infallible, they were not exempt from failings, divested of passions, or free from prejudices, some of which were contracted in their former religious profession. *We* may consistently speak of them with freedom; and not dissemble our opinion, when we think them blamable or mistaken.

A comparison of our own situation with that of our ancestors, in regard to the particulars discussed in this letter, cannot fail to give us pleasure. To have our minds no longer shackled by the arbitrary decrees of Papal authority, to be no longer subject to the

the most severe and cruel punishments for daring to depart in any instance from this authority, is indeed being restored to the state of rational agents and of Christians; it is being delivered from 'a yoke, which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear.' And in our political capacity, how great is the advantage! We value ourselves (and justly) on the excellence of our Constitution, and on the Freedom of our Government; on that security which the Laws give us in our persons and property, the purity with which they are administered, the complete authority with which they are armed. What should we now think of a Pontiff, resident in a distant part of Europe, interfering with our Sovereign in the government of his kingdom, sometimes indeed proceeding to humiliate and to punish him! Of a Legate actually exercising this interference on the spot! Of a large description of persons withdrawn from the cognizance and authority of the General Law of the realm, but belonging to a Foreign Power, and

and appealing to it in the last resort! Of being in a variety of ways rendered tributary to this Power! Whoever well considers these things will set a due value on the liberty, which he now enjoys; and on the event, which rescued this Country from the mental and political vassalage, imposed by the See of Rome on her subjects.

As it was the policy of the Court of Rome to detach their Clergy from civil connections with the country to which they belonged, so was it also to detach them from their social connections. The more these ties were weakened or diminished, their obedience to a foreign power was likely to be more complete. Hence Monastic institutions were always encouraged by the Popes, and Celibacy recommended and at length imposed on all their Clergy. The clergy also and the passions of mankind have ever disposed many of them not to rest satisfied with the performance of duty, as prescribed by their religion, and regulated by reason and common sense, but to aim at some extraordinary degree of perfection.

LETTER III.

Of Monastic Institutions and the Celibacy
of the Clergy.

AS it was the policy of the Court of Rome to detach their Clergy from *civil* connections with the country to which they belonged, so was it also to detach them from their *social* connections. The more these ties were weakened or diminished, their obedience to a foreign power was likely to be more complete. Hence Monastic Institutions were always encouraged by the Popes, and Celibacy recommended and at length imposed on all their Clergy.

The folly also and the passions of mankind have ever disposed many of them not to rest satisfied with the performance of duty, as prescribed by their religion, and regulated by reason and common sense, but to aim at some extraordinary degree of perfection,

fection, according to their extravagant ideas which will give them the reputation of peculiar sanctity with men, and a superior title to the favor of God. Hence the origin of Hermits, Monks, and the whole train of Ascetics; of that unsocial solitude, of that pernicious retirement from the world, and those useless austerities imposed on the different religious orders of the Roman Church; vows of poverty; prescribed abstinences and distinctions of food; and notions of purity and merit attached to Celibacy in preference to Marriage. (1)

Enthusiasts (for the authors of such opinions and institutions were of this character) consulted on these subjects their passions, rather than their reason. (2) They did not consider, that the Laws of Nature are the Laws of God, the Author of our Nature; that the true way of recommending ourselves to him is not to reject those Laws and act in direct opposition to them; but to comply with

(1) Balguy. *Concio ad Clerum*, p. 334.

(2) *Ib.* p. 338.

them

them under the regulations he has prescribed to us; that of this nature, next to Reason, Social Affections are the most distinguishing character, Social Duties the most important occupation. Whatever therefore tends to weaken these affections, and to disqualify us from these duties, contradicts the order of human nature established by God, and counteracts his purposes. This is the case, whenever human Beings place themselves, or are placed by others, in situations, where they are precluded (and that perhaps irrevocably) from contributing to Society their proportion of the common duties of life; and where violence is often done to the nature, which God has given them. This however is in order to attain higher degrees of religious perfection than is consistent with Society; to be divested of human passions; to be unconcerned with the affairs of the world, and to renounce them. We are commanded it is true to keep these passions within due bounds, and to regard our temporal interest in subordination to that of a more permanent and exalted

exalted kind; but we are not commanded, either to be without the one, or to be wholly indifferent to the other. Perfection is relative; and that Being approaches nearest to the perfection, which belongs to his nature, (and no other is within his reach, or would be really such) who withdraws himself from none of the duties that nature imposes on him, but performs them well according to the laws given him by his Creator. Obedience to these laws amidst the various circumstances and trials of the world, and the Good produced by this Obedience, are what will give us the best claim to his favor. Separate duty from utility, and you take away the greatest part of its value; to act in a certain way is made our duty, because so to act is *useful*; I mean useful, not in a narrow but in the largest sense of the word, with respect to the interests of mankind at large. (1)

This

(1) "Faith and devotion are the surest guides and strongest incentives to virtuous actions; but that Author would strip them of their noblest merit, who should represent them as resting in mere contemplation

This ideal perfection however has been continually pursued by men, not satisfied with

tion, or as matters wholly distinct from, and unconnected with, the rest of our duty. And whatever tends to divert our attention from the services we owe to our neighbour, or to lessen the importance of them, or to substitute any other branch of duty in its place, is so far defective, and injurious to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel." Sermon of Bishop Shipley, preached in 1777 at the Yearly Meeting of Charity Schools, &c. Works. vol. ii. p. 338.

See the whole of this excellent Sermon.

Though I should not with Dr. Paley *select Utility* to express the foundation of Morality, (indeed I have done otherwise in *Discourses*, App. ii. p. 422. note, and will insert the passage underneath) yet I consider the various terms used for this purpose as differing in words rather than substance. For the *Essential Differences of things*, the *Will of God*, *Moral Sense*, *Truth*, *Justice*, *Utility*, &c. if fully explained, and understood in a sense sufficiently comprehensive, all coincide.

"I consider *Moral Obligation* as resulting jointly from the *Essential Differences of things* and the *Will of God*. Certain *Relations* being given, certain *Duties* will necessarily follow from them. But that such *Relations* should exist, and such *Duties* be obligatory, is determined by the *Will of God*. As in a mathematical figure the *Properties* are essential and unalterable, but what that *Figure* is, was determined by the

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Mathematician,

with the nature God has given them, from the visionary Platonist down to the austere Founders of religious orders; and the consequence has been not making our nature in such instances better, but for the most part worse. Such attempts not only fail in producing the good effect proposed, but generally produce some unforeseen and positive bad effect.

We have had lately a most unhappy experiment made on human nature with respect to Government. 'All existing governments (it was said) were imperfect, sinking under abuses, inconsistent with the Rights and destructive of the Happiness of Man.' They were old shattered fabrics, not worth repairing, and therefore some Philosophic Architects undertook to rebuild them from the ground. The perfectibility of Man had never, with respect to Civil Government, been put to the trial; it remained a principle in the Philosophy of Epicurus, who described it. A *Moral Sense* was superadded by God to lead the mind in a summary way to the knowledge of Moral Duties."

mained

maintained for Modern Legislators to shew, how high under proper management it could be advanced. From thenceforth all was to be peace, all justice, all liberty, all happiness. We too well know, how this philosophic theory of perfection has ended; that it has ended in more desperate war, more grievous oppression, more despotic tyranny, and misery more widely extended, than any event recorded in the history of the world hardly ever has produced. This has been an attempt fatal beyond example; but all attempts to carry our nature to a degree of ideal perfection, which sober reason cannot approve, and the practicability of which experience does not justify, will not only fail, but be productive of greater evils than before existed.

It is remarkable, that opposite extremes in principles sometimes concur in producing similar effects on human conduct. It was a principle in the Philosophy of Epicurus for his followers not to meddle with public affairs. (1) To do so would be incurring

(1) Diog. Laer. Vit. Epic. Sect. cxix.

too much trouble, as it was for his Gods (such as they were) to interfere in the government of the world; and it would defeat the great end of their existence, the enjoyment of ease and pleasure. The Monk in his cloister renounces the business of the world, because he thinks it inconsistent with his sanctity and unworthy his attention. They both however desert the offices of social life; and in this consequence unfavorable to mankind, from principles removed apart at the greatest possible distance, the old Epicurean Voluptuary and the Monastic Christian Recluse are agreed.

To this species of Superstition, however repugnant to the feelings of our nature, and pernicious in its effects, mankind have always had a strong propensity; this very repugnance, by being supposed to constitute its merit, has operated in its favor. Our concern with it is, as it affects the Christian Religion and Civil Society; but from the same general cause it has prevailed in various forms and in different degrees under

under some sects of Philosophy, and other religions besides the Christian. The principles and mode of life of the Essenes in the late periods of the Jewish History were of this character; as are the Dervises and Fakeers of the eastern continent.

The Gospel, giving men a more just and interesting view of the Providence of God and their dependence on him for happiness both in the present and a future life; inculcating the necessity of Obedience in order to obtain it, and the infinite importance of its being obtained; and therefore recommending a due subordination and comparative neglect of all wordly considerations, when put in competition with this great object; was very likely to be perverted by weak minds, guided by their feelings more than their reason, and always ready to run into extremes, to the purposes of an unsocial, self-denying superstition. The disease accordingly soon appeared in the early periods of Christianity; but it broke out towards the latter end of the

third century with the greatest violence; (1) when Antony, an Egyptian youth, replete with monastic fanaticism, retired from his family and friends into the neighbouring desert, there to impose on himself all the rigors of an ascetic life. In a country and amidst a people ripe for the contagion, the rapidity was astonishing with which it was

[(1) I had said, at the beginning of the fourth century,

Mr. M. has corrected me from Tillemont, and says, that St. Antony retired into the desert in 272, though Tillemont fixes it to 285. Mem. Eccl. Tom. 7. Part i, p. 189.

If the Reader wishes to know more of St. Antony, the same Author will inform him; 'that the Devil attacked the Saint with all possible temptations to voluptuousness and at length by appearing to him in a visible form, but without any other effect than making him redouble his austerities; that afterwards when he had retired among sepulchres, Demons beat him so much that he was carried for dead to the Church of the village; that they again attacked him in the shape of different beasts, and wounded him afresh, but that Jesus Christ came to comfort and to heal him. I should not have thought of troubling my reader with this nonsense, if Mr. M. had not thrown it in my way by referring me to Tillemont; who is however a most accurate chronologist.]

propagated,

propagated, multitudes after his example flocked to the Egyptian deserts, which during the long life of their leader became peopled with some thousands of new inhabitants, both male and female Hermits.

This rage for monastic life was quickly communicated to Europe, where it also spread with the same rapidity. Multitudes of all descriptions renounced the world, and every Christian country was covered with buildings erected for their reception. Fastings, penances, celibacy, poverty, in short the privation of every social comfort, joined with much external and ceremonial devotion, passed in those times for the quintessence of real piety. It seemed, as if God delighted in the misery of his creatures, and that the most certain or only way of securing his favor was by making themselves miserable. Different communities adopted different regulations; from hence branched out all the various Religious Orders of the Roman Church, (1) which

(1) Giannone and all Ecclesiastical Historians.

acquired influence and the reputation of sanctity with the people in proportion to the rigor and severity of their rules. To erect and endow Convents therefore was thought the highest degree of religious merit; this was the way for the Great and Rich to make, most certainly, atonement for their sins. They not only founded religious houses in great numbers, but many of them entered themselves into these communities. Kings descended from their thrones, Wives separated themselves from their Husbands; their piety was extolled beyond all bounds; and many of them became Saints of the Roman Calendar, both male and female, such as Mr. M. commemorates in the highest terms of praise and veneration in the earlier part of his History. (1)

All this combination of Enthusiasm and Superstition proceeds on the supposition, that to renounce the world is better, than to live well and usefully in it; that gra-

(1) Vol. i. p. 104.

titious sufferings, unnecessary privations of all the comforts which our nature requires, abstinence from her most innocent and legitimate enjoyments, and indeed a dereliction of the duties imposed on us by nature, are the things most acceptable to the Supreme Being. 'To suffer cheerfully for well-doing' is highly meritorious; to suffer for the sake of producing some good effect, which will more than balance it, is useful and commendable; but suffering in the abstract, without producing what will *at all* or *sufficiently* compensate it, is surely so much positive evil. Let us consider the effects both good and bad of these Institutions.

Piety, according to the religion of the times and the ideas of their Founders, was the leading principle of them all; and piety, properly so called, when by means of certain addresses to God and stated forms of external worship it tends to impress the minds of men with worthy notions of his perfections, and a just sense of the obedience due to him; and consequently

quently to make them lead good and useful lives, and discharge well all the duties of their respective situations; such piety cannot be too much cultivated, nor the institutions approved, which are best adapted to promote it. But when it is made to consist in things, which should only be the *means* and not *end* of true Religion; when from the multitude of external forms, and the importance attached to them, the attention is directed to the shadows instead of the substance; when so far from exciting or fitting men to discharge the social duties of life well, they rather discourage and divert them from it, placing religious excellence in other qualities, we may conclude I think without hesitation, that the general effect of such Institutions on the conduct of mankind must be, in many respects unfavorable, and in some highly pernicious to human Society. 'For our duty to God can never be separated from our duty to Man, to which it has always reference; and the end of our creation is by performing both, thus united, to obtain eternal happiness.' (1)

Mr.

(1) I mean this as an answer to Mr. M.'s two questions,

Mr. M. has given us an account of a monastic day, which as a matter of information is curious. (1)

From questions, 1st. "What is the end of Man's creation? 2dly, What are the means pointed out by Revelation for answering this end?" Vol. ii. p. 101.

(1) "The time of the monks rising was different, according to the different seasons of the year and the festivals that were solemnized, but the more common time appears to have been about the half hour after one in the morning, so as to be ready in the choir to begin the night office, called *Nocturnæ Vigilæ*, by two. When these consisted of three nocturns, or were otherwise longer, the monks of course rose much earlier. In later ages, the whole of this office, and that of the *Matutinæ Laudes* were performed together, and took up, in the singing of them, about two hours. There was now an interval of an hour, during which the monks were at liberty in some convents, for this was far from being the case in all, again to repose for a short time on their couches, but great numbers every where spent this time in private prayer. At five began the service called *Prime*, at the conclusion of which the community went in procession to the chapter-house, to attend to the instructions and exhortations, which we have spoken of above. The chapter being finished, they proceeded again to the church to assist at the early, or, what was called the *Capitular Mass*.
This

From this sketch not very inviting of Monastic life, Mr. M. presumes its professors

This being finished, there was a space of an hour, or an hour and an half, which was employed in manual labour or in study. At eight they again met in the choir to perform the office called *Terce*, or the third hour, which was followed by the *High Mass*, and that again by *Sext*, or the office of the sixth hour. These services lasted until near ten o'clock, at which time, in later ages, when it was not a fasting day, the community proceeded to the refectory to dine. They returned, after dinner was over, processionally to the church, in order there to finish their solemn grace. There was now a vacant space of an hour or an hour and an half, during part of which those who were fatigued were at liberty to take their repose, according to the custom in hot countries, which was called from the time of day when it was taken, *The Meridian*. Others employed this time in walking and conversing, except on those days when a general silence was enjoined. At one o'clock, *None* or the ninth hour was sung in the choir, as were *Vespers* at three. At five they met in the refectory to partake of a slender supper, consisting chiefly, both as to victuals and drink, of what was saved out of the meal at noon, except on fasting days, when nothing or next to nothing, was allowed to be taken. The intermediate spaces were occupied with spiritual reading or studying, or with manual labour, which frequently consisted in transcribing

sors will not be accused of laziness. If they are accused, it will certainly be of laborious laziness, *inertiæ strenuæ*. In the space of the four and twenty hours nine services were to be performed; and it may be inferred, that nine hours at least were employed in them; (1) and this was on common days, on others it was more, besides *private prayer*. Now the powers of attention possessed by the human mind are limited. They cannot be exerted beyond a certain time, especially on the same object. We all feel this, and know it from uniform

transcribing books. After the evening refection, a spiritual conference or *collation* was held, until the office called *Complin* began, which, with certain other exercises of devotion, lasted until seven o'clock, when all retired to their respective dormitories, which were long galleries containing as many beds as could be ranged in them, separated from each other by thin boards or curtains. On these the monks took their rest, without taking off any part of their clothes." Vol. ii. p. 100.

(1) The duration of the other services is determined by the account. I have only added one hour for *None* and *Vespers*.

experience

experience. We may go on by habit pronouncing the same words, chanting the same notes, or using the same gestures; but the Mind will not accompany these actions of the Body, and will leave them merely *mechanical*. It is itself saturated, and will not admit beyond a certain quantity of what is thus forced on it. The object, which it would attend to with advantage and pleasure, if offered with moderation, it views, when thus oppressed, with indifference or disgust. I know nothing, to which these observations (founded I believe in our nature) are more applicable, than to a *routine* of religious services thus imposed and thus repeated; and nothing more likely to extinguish true devotion, and defeat its effects on our lives and conduct.

Vows of Poverty make a material part of these Institutions. Poverty is not good in itself; but may be meritorious like other privations, if it be made to produce benefits which more than counterbalance its evils. Monastic Poverty however has always been more nominal than real. For
when

when these institutions became the prevailing fashion of the times, when persons in the higher ranks of life, most of them profligate and lawless, as well as others of more worthy characters, thought, they could atone for their sins and secure their salvation by establishing and endowing such foundations, and when the people at large supposed Religion to consist in the sort of devotion there practised, Riches flowed in upon them on all sides. The members of these communities might indeed be *individually* poor, but they were *collectively* rich; and possessed in perpetuity and unalienably a vast proportion of the landed property belonging to each country. Even the Mendicant Orders, where Poverty, (it might be supposed) if any where, was to be found, where it was the distinguishing character of their institution, became possessed of immense wealth. (1)

For
 (1) "It is necessary from this time forward to speak of Religious Orders and Temporal Property together; for, as I have before observed, (lib. ii. c. iv.) that speaking

For different descriptions of men to discharge their duty properly and with effect in the different, especially the higher, employments of Society, it is certainly necessary, that they should have sufficient inducements to engage in them; opportunities of preparing and qualifying themselves properly; prospects not of sufficient subsistence only, but of situations adapted to their rank; and rewards to encourage industry and to excite emulation. But the advantages belonging to any profession may

speaking of one is the same thing as speaking of the other, (*Chi dice Religione dice Ricchezza*—a proverbial expression;) so now, the Monks having by their acquisitions of Temporal Property become more expert than all other Ecclesiastics, there being in these times no proportion between *their* acquisition and those of other Churches, we must now call New Religious Orders New sources of Wealth; (*Nuove Religioni, Nuove Ricchezze.*) And this was the more astonishing, (*cosa portentosa,*) because, notwithstanding they were founded on Mendicity and therefore called Mendicants, their acquisitions and wealth became immense." Giannone. Ist. Nap. lib. xix. cap. v. in his account of ecclesiastical affairs in the 14th century.

be out of all proportion with respect to the country, in which they exist; and it is notorious, that in the times, of which we speak, the Riches as well as the Numbers of the Clergy were in the highest degree excessive.

These Riches indeed were not without their use in the hospitality exercised by the Religious Houses, and by supporting in a great measure the neighbouring Poor. The state of manners in those times made the first very useful, when travellers did not find such accommodations, as are now in this country every where to be had; and the last was certainly a great relief to the Poor and to the Public, though probably the indiscriminate charity bestowed by these communities would have a very unfavorable effect on the general industry and the productive labor of any nation; (1) and would in these days very little suit our own, which has by means of the superior exer-

(1) See these effects of the indiscriminate charity of Ecclesiastics in Spain. Townsend's Travels, vol. ii. p. 8.

tions of her people risen to her present height of opulence and prosperity. It is not wonderful therefore, that the suppression of the Monasteries should have been (independently of religious considerations) unpopular, because the sudden suppression of so extensive and ample a source of charity must have occasioned great inconvenience and distress.

Few subjects of internal policy have been found so difficult, as making a proper provision for the Poor, who are incapable of providing for themselves by their own industry. The difficulty is to preserve a just medium, and to give them a decent and comfortable subsistence without discouraging industry, and laying an unnecessary burden on the rest of the community. And of late years this subject has much engaged the public attention, though perhaps not with all the success that could be wished. Many accurate investigations have been made respecting the condition of the Poor and the means of improving it; many promising experiments have been tried as
to

to the management of them, and the laws respecting them have undergone some amendment. (1) Magistrates, Courts of Justice, and the Legislature have all of late been earnest in their different capacities in endeavouring to afford them every relief, which their situation admits. (2)

To

(1) See Stat. 35 Geo. III. c. 101. to prevent vexatious removals. It was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. East.

(2) This being the case, Mr. M. might have well spared the note, vol. ii. p. 187. in which he passes an indiscriminate censure on all Poor-Houses, Houses of Industry, &c. where the Poor are collected in numbers together. In a matter of this difficulty, it is perhaps impossible to adopt any mode, to which considerable objections may not be made. In populous places, where the Poor are numerous, their being so collected is I believe unavoidable. The good management of these Houses will then chiefly depend on the continued attention and superintendence of the principal inhabitants of the Parish or District, to which they belong. When this is the case, I am persuaded many of these establishments are conducted in the best manner, with economical advantage to the public, and with proper regard to the comfort and benefit of the Poor themselves. I believe I might mention *that* for the Parish of Mary-le-bon, (a vast concern,) and the

To the Wealth of the great Ecclesiastics we are indebted for most of the Colleges in our two Universities, provided with handsome buildings and ample endowments, and for other places of education in different parts of the kingdom. Amidst these, Wykeham's Foundations, one at Oxford and the other at this place, hold a distinguished rank, of whom it certainly becomes me to speak with respect and gratitude. To it also we are indebted for our magnificent Cathedrals, where art and elegance are united with whatever is venerable and solemn. For the revenues of these Ecclesiastics were immense. After consuming on the spot at their different places of residence great part of the produce of their estates (like the great Lay Barons) in rude grandeur, profuse hospitality to numerous retainers, and charity to the neighbouring Poor, a large residue might still

House of Industry in the Isle of Wight, as instances. The object of the note seems to be, to contrast the present state of the Poor with that before the Reformation.

remain,

remain, which certainly could not be better employed than in these magnificent and useful works; as they had no families, no lineal posterity, who could have a natural claim on their superfluous wealth.

The Schools (1) of Monasteries for the education of youth, and their Hospitals for the reception of the sick, formed a valuable part of their institution. The Clergy (2) also had the merit of possessing and preserving almost all the Learning of the times. It is to be lamented, that great part of what was then called Learning was of the most unprofitable and contemptible

(1) After the dissolution of the Monasteries Henry VIII. made a School part of the establishment of all his *New Deans and Chapters*. Such is Westminster School, the Scholars of which are called for this reason *King's Scholars*. No School was attached to the Cathedral of this place on account of the vicinity of Wykeham's College.

(2) See a candid statement of the merits of the English Roman Catholic Clergy before the Reformation by Bishop Porteus in a very elegant sermon preached at the Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy 1776. *Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 153.

kind; they however preserved with it a portion of what was valuable; and for that they are justly entitled to our gratitude.

The Sanctuaries also of Religious Houses often afforded protection to the innocent and distressed in the times of feudal licentiousness and violence. But it must be remembered, that these Sanctuaries gave refuge to Guilt as well as Innocence; they are now not wanted for the innocent, and never ought to have protected the guilty.(1) We have now no Barons, too great for the Law, who issue forth from their Castles to plunder peaceable Travellers, or carry off helpless Damsels. The Law (praised be

(1) The excessive arrogance of Lewis XIV. never appeared in a more striking light, than in his refusing to give up (as other Catholic Princes had done) the privilege of his Ambassador at Rome, having in the district where he lived an Asylum for the protection of all sorts of criminals. He insulted Innocent XI. the Head of his own Church, who proposed this salutary measure; and asserted that mischievous privilege by an armed force in the midst of the Pope's capital. Voltaire, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* ch.13. Henault. *Abr. Chron.* 1687.

God)

God) is now the general Sanctuary of the Kingdom; its protection is not ambiguous between guilt and innocence; it acts constantly and uniformly; and there is none great enough to set it at defiance with impunity. (1)

With the amount of Ecclesiastical Property in a country the numbers of the Clergy are nearly connected; in this, as in most Roman Catholic countries, both were excessive. Religious establishments were multiplied beyond measure; at the same time the wealth annexed to them, the veneration paid to the Ecclesiastics, and their security for the most part from the injuries to which other ranks were exposed, formed strong inducements in favor of their pro-

(1) Vol. ii. 226. Mr. M. observes, 'that the present age is unhappily no less distinguished (such is the state of its morals) for the erection of Goals and Bridewells, than many past ages have been for the building of Churches and Monasteries.' It is the age of Goals and Bridewells *better regulated* than ever they were before; and every Baron and Bishop has *not* now a Goal of his own in his Castle.

fession, and tended to increase their numbers.

Now the numbers of any profession ought to be proportioned to the demand for it in the society, where it exists. A Christian Minister with regard to his own personal religion stands on the same footing with others. It is not for *himself*, but for *them*, that he is a Minister. He is an instrument for the purpose of promoting *their* piety; he is to give *them* instructions; and to perform religious offices for *them*. This demand therefore should regulate the proportion of the Clergy to the Laity in a Christian country. If their numbers very much exceed what are wanted, it is like instruments being multiplied out of all proportion to the materials, on which they are to be employed. If a Religion too by a multiplicity of ceremonies, not *essential*, demands a greater number of Ministers, than are necessary for promoting *real* piety; this is an objection of weight against the Religion itself. Other professions and employments regulate themselves; they find their

their own level ; their numbers are proportioned to the demand ; but a profession supported by independent property annexed to it will naturally attract an undue proportion of members, if that property be too large. The consequence of such an undue proportion, composed of persons condemned to Celibacy, on Population is obvious. (1)

And it is notorious, that in all Roman Catholic countries, as well as in our own before the Reformation, the numbers of the Clergy compared with the mass of the people have been excessive. To judge of them with respect to our own country, I will only take Mr. M.'s account of Winchester ; in which he gives a List of Churches, Chapels, and Religious Houses, as existing in the City and Suburbs about the year 1300 and in the 14th century. He there reckons up Parochial Churches and

(1) ' In Spain are 8932 Convents, containing more than 94,000 Monks and Nuns ; but the persons bound to Celibacy by Vows are not much below 200,000.' Townsend. Vol.ii. 233.

Chapels of different descriptions to the amount of *Eighty*, and *Twelve* Religious Houses, namely,

The Old Monastery—the Cathedral—Benedictines.

The New Monastery—Hide Abbey—Benedictines.

Monastery of Nuns—St. Mary's Abbey—Benedictines.

College of St. Mary—by Wykeham.

College of St. Elizabeth.

Hospital of St. Swithun.

Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity.

Franciscans.—Grey Friars.

Dominicans.—Black Friars.

Carmelites.—White Friars.

Hermits or Friars of St. Augustine.

Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. (1)

Allowing therefore every thing to the extent and populousness of Winchester and its suburbs in its most flourishing state, which Mr. M. can wish, we may I think pretty fairly infer from this specimen, that the numbers of the Clergy, both regular and

(1) Vol. ii. 262. App. No. vii.

secular, before the Reformation, were excessive. In Winchester, and the same compass of ground about it, which Mr. M. includes in its suburbs, there are now only the following places of Public Worship: in the town *eight*, out of the town *three*, Parochial Churches; the Cathedral, the College founded by Wykeham, one Roman Catholic Chapel, (1) and one Dissenting Meeting-House.

Fasting and abstinence from particular kinds of food, all of which *we* think 'God has directed to be received with thanksgiving,' form an important title in the Rules of different Religious Orders, either of greater or less severity. If Fasting at particular times should answer any moral purpose, I would allow its value. 'When enjoined by authority (to use the words of a very sensible and temperate (2) Author,)

(1) There is now another temporary Chapel for the French residing here.

(2) P. 30. 31. of a Pamphlet entitled, *Considerations addressed to the French Bishops and Clergy, now residing in England.* 1796. I never knew, who was the Author.

it

it is at least but an equivocal sign of interior repentance. Since the practice has been reduced to a system, and Casuists have defined how far it was lawful to proceed without breaking the precept, and what specific meats were allowable, it has become the business of the housekeeper and the cook to make a proper selection, and to take care, that the natural Man, in his appetite as in his constitution, suffer as little injury as possible.' The distinctions indeed of different kinds of food, prescribed and observed by the Church of Rome, either with respect to Religious Orders or the people at large, are to the last degree unmeaning and childish.

Before I come to the Celibacy of the Clergy, I will mention one other instance of monastic mortification, where the austerity and folly of superstition seemed to be carried to their greatest height. [Speech, the admirable Gift of our Creator, second only in its value to Reason, from whence it flows; that, by which we are chiefly distinguished from the brute-creation, by which

which we communicate our thoughts to each other; on which depend the intercourse, the comfort, the civilisation of human life; by which (for *written Speech* is only a transcript) the knowledge of the past and present transactions of the world is recorded, the arts and sciences necessary or useful to mankind diffused and preserved, by which moral and religious truths, and instruction in them are conveyed; Speech, (I say) that admirable gift, is forbidden to the members of certain Orders; as if every act was meritorious in proportion to the degree of injury it inflicted on our *Social Nature*.

The greatest injury however on that Nature, because its operation was most extensive, was the Prohibition of Marriage; first to the Monastic Orders, (it made part indeed of their original system) and then to all the Secular Clergy, on whom it was not imposed without much difficulty. This was congenial to the ideas of all the enthusiasts for Monastic life, who thought they made that life more holy, and more meritorious

meritorious, the more it was deprived of the comforts of society. It was natural therefore, that they should all agree in prohibiting Marriage to their members; that primeval institution of God immediately following the creation of Man, the pure and legitimate source of the continuance of the human species; from whence domestic and family connections spread in all their ramifications; and which was meant to highten every virtuous pleasure, and to relieve the calamities of life.

But, besides this reason arising from the general self-denying system of Monastic Institutions, there was another of policy, which recommended this prohibition most strongly to the Governors of the Roman Church. Men with Wives and Families belonging to them are connected in a thousand ways with the Country, in which they live; they exist beyond themselves; and the welfare of those nearest to them is inseparable from their own. Our Families also are pledges, which we give of our fidelity to our Country; we cannot be unfaithful

faithful to her without involving in its consequences those, who are as dear to us as ourselves; we rejoice in her prosperity, or are afflicted at her misfortunes, not for ourselves only, but because we anticipate the good or evil, which may result from each to our connections and to our posterity. By such ties has Providence been pleased to bind mankind together, and to make them not detached Individuals, but members of aggregate Bodies, connected by common affections and common interests. To the union thus formed by nature, Religion well understood gives additional strength and consistency.

When the Popes began to form plans of ambition and power, it appeared how useful it would be to have Bodies of men in different countries detached as much as possible from local affections and interests, ready to rank themselves under their orders, and to pay an implicit obedience to their paramount commands. Nothing could be so effectual for this purpose as the Celibacy of the Clergy; *they* formed Bodies of the
above

above description. Monastic Orders were all of this kind; they were therefore applauded, encouraged, and multiplied by the Court of Rome (as we have seen) to an excessive degree. They were so many zealous subjects (or rather satellites) devoted to that See in preference to the Civil Governments of their respective Countries; and ready, whenever their jurisdiction or interest interfered, to give its pretensions their decided support.

The motives for extending the same Prohibition to the Secular Clergy were equally strong; but to impose it was a task of no common difficulty. Though Monks, shut up in their cloisters from all society with the world, had submitted to it; to the others, more conversant with common life and not so secluded, it appeared intolerable. Nature made an obstinate resistance; and when she was at last forced (in appearance at least) to submit, it was not till after many struggles, many ineffectual attempts on the part of the Popes; nor was the point completely carried, till they

they had arrived at the plenitude of their power, and were deposing and excommunicating Emperors and Kings. (1)

These

(1) As Mr. M. sometimes favors us with monastic verses, I will insert some of the jocose Archdeacon of Oxford, Walter de Mapes, in Henry the II'd's time, on the Clergy being forced to dismiss their Wives; which, though a very serious subject at that time, he treats in his usual manner.

“O quam dolor anxius, quam tormentum grave,
Nobis est dimittere, quoniam suave !
O Romane Pontifex, statuisti prave ;
Ne in tanto crimine moriaris, cave !

Non est Innocentius, immo nocens vere,
Qui quod facto docuit, studet abolere ;
Et quod olim juvenis voluit habere,
Modo vetus Pontifex studet prohibere.

Gignere nos præcipit Vetus Testamentum,
Ubi Novum prohibet, nusquam est inventum.—

Paulus cœlos rapitur ad superiores,
Ubi multas didicit res secretiores,
Ad nos tandem rediens, instruensque mores,
Suas (inquit) habeat quilibet uxores.

Propter hæc et alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor esse melius et magis decorum,
Quisque suam habeat et non proximorum,
Ne incurrat odium et iram eorum.

Proximorum fæminas, filias, et neptes,
Violare nefas est, quare nil disceptes ;
Vere tuam habeas, et in hac delectes :
Diem ut sic ultimum tutius expectes.

These motives cannot be better explained, than in the words of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio di Carpi in a Consistory, where the application made to the Council of Trent by the King of France and the French Bishops for the administration of the Sacrament *in both kinds* to the Laity, was under the consideration of Pope Pius IV. and his Cardinals. After stating, that, if this were granted, they would proceed to ‘demand the *Marriage of Priests*, and *the use of the Vulgar Tongue* in the administration of the Sacraments, he goes on to say, ‘That if Priests were allowed to marry, the consequence would be, that having Families, Wives, and Children, they would no longer depend on the Pope, but on their own Sovereigns; and their affection for their Children, would make them comply with any thing to the prejudice of the Church. They would also endeavour to make their Bene-

Ecce jam pro Clericis multum allegavi,
 Nec non pro Presbyteris plura comprobavi;
Pater Noster nunc pro me, quoniam peccavi,
 Dicat quisque Presbyter cum sua Süavi.”

Camden's Remains. p. 339.

fices

fices hereditary; and in a very short time the Apostolic See would be confined within the limits of Rome itself. That before Celibacy was established, this See derived no advantage from other Nations and Countries; but by means of it became possessed of so many Benefices, of which by the Marriage of Priests it would in a short time be deprived.' (1)

But it may perhaps be said, 'that whatever temporal interest the Popes might have in the Celibacy of the Clergy, the nature of their office makes Marriage improper, and therefore that, the rule which prohibits it was good; that their time and thoughts are to be entirely occupied in sacred func-

(1) Father Paul. Hist. Con. Trid. p. 446. lib. v. (1561). ["The accurate and faithful Pallavicini, who wrote from the original memoirs of the Council of Trent, preserved in the castle of St. Angelo, his victorious confutation of Father Paul's spurious history of the same Council, has proved, that no such consistory was held as that in which cardinal Rodolpho Pio is introduced as making the inconsistent speech which Dr. S., after the former, ascribes to him. Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. xv. c. 14." Ans. note (2) p. 51. Which is the true account must depend on the authority of the respective Historians.]

tions; that love even in its purest form ought not to find admission into their minds; and that the consequent worldly cares attending a Wife and Family were inconsistent with their situation and incompatible with their duties. (1) All this is very well, if you could procure Clergy made of materials different from those, of which Men are composed; if you could have Beings for that purpose without human affections, and without human passions, such as we might suppose angelic natures to be. But having in fact no other materials than Men to make use of, we must take them with all their natural dispositions about them; and endeavour, not to extinguish these, (which is impossible) but to regulate them in a manner most likely to produce virtuous and exemplary conduct in the persons, whose virtue and example is most important, from the influence their religious character gives them on the morals of the community at large. (2)

Now

(1) See Townsend. Vol. ii. 152.

(2) Vol. i. p. 163. n. (1). To Mr. M.'s true policy of Clerical

Now nothing is more certain, than that the probability of men's acting well increases just in proportion, as the temptations to act ill are diminished. If therefore there be a class of persons, whose situation in Society requires conduct peculiarly unexceptionable, from such persons all circumstances of a contrary tendency should be studiously removed. The application is very obvious. That impulse of Nature, by which we are led to form connections with the other sex, is one of the most powerful that belong to us, not however more powerful, than the important purposes for which it was given us require; for our Creator adjusts our feelings to the use we have for them. This impulse, when properly directed, is productive of the greatest blessings; it forms one of the strongest ties, by which human Society is connected, and is therefore the object of laws in their ear-

Clerical Celibacy, which he says is to be found, in 1 Cor. vii. v. 32. 33. I will venture to oppose the *morality* of v. 2 and 9 of the same chapter.

liest state ; it is the true source of our domestic comfort and happiness, and tends to promote in general benevolent and virtuous dispositions. (1) Such is its effect when properly directed. But when, from dislike of reasonable restraint, indulgence is given to irregular passions, or prohibitions and impediments are opposed to those, which cannot be suppressed, but might have been regulated, nothing occasions more disorder in human society and in human conduct. The mischief it does is in proportion to the efficacy it might have had in doing good.

Laws, to be effectual, must be conformable to our nature and founded on good sense ; if they are not such, they in a great measure defeat themselves. Power may to a certain degree compell obedience to them ;

(2) *Inde casas postquam, ac pelles, ignemque pararunt,
Et Mulier conjuncta Viro concessit in unum,
Castaque privatae veneris connubia læta
Cognita sunt, Prolemque ex se videre creatam ;
Tum Genus Humanum primum mollescere cœpit.*

Lucr. lib. v. 1009.

but

but they will be continually eluded, and eluded with impunity. When they shock our natural and general feelings, humane and reasonable men would rather let the transgressor go unpunished, than be punished with what appears to them disproportionate severity; or for a fault, which (considering natural infirmities) he could hardly help committing. They are ready to lay the blame on the unreasonable Law, rather than on the unfortunate, though perhaps not quite innocent, Transgressor.

If ever such remarks as the foregoing were true, they are true with respect to the Celibacy of the Roman Catholic Religious Orders and Clergy. That Church has in this instance laid a Prohibition on a vast number of human beings, in a case, where all of mature age and understanding ought to be exclusively (allowing a reasonable attention to the authority and influence of Parents and Friends) judges for themselves. It may be said perhaps, 'they do judge for themselves, when they engage in a religious profession, and make the Vows required by

it. But ought Young Men, at an early period of life, with little knowledge of the world and perhaps of themselves, destined often rather by their Parents for an Ecclesiastical profession, than led to it by their own judgement or choice, to make Vows by their terms *irrevocable*, concerning things *not ordained by God*, (as it is acknowledged) which afterwards from a thousand circumstances, from temperament, from experience, from more extended views, they would give the world to recall? Still less should poor Young Women, yet more inexperienced, more helpless, more subject to the tyranny of family arrangements made for narrow and pecuniary purposes, immure themselves in Convents *for life*, without considering, or perhaps being suffered to consider, whether they were not better qualified for making amiable and affectionate Wives, tender and attentive Mothers; whether as such they would not be more happy in themselves, and contribute more to the happiness of others. The human mind shrinks from what is *irrevocable*;
and

and the situation, which would only excite moderate uneasiness, if it admitted of change, when unchangeable produces despair. (1)

And

(1) On the suppression of all Religious Houses in France and the Low Countries some of those Societies, as well as of the Secular Clergy, have taken refuge in this country, and are now living quietly under its protection. I wish them to enjoy all possible security, and every comfort, which the rules of their respective orders will permit. But I do *not* wish them to be allowed to *perpetuate* their Societies *here*, by admitting a succession of *New Members*. This is repugnant to the opinions and policy of the Country, both civil and religious, and almost also to the express letter of the Law; for in the Roman Catholic Toleration Act. 31 G. III. c. 32. s. 17. it is provided, 'That nothing therein contained shall make it lawful to found, endow, or establish any Religious Order or Society of Persons bound by Monastic or Religious Vows; or any School, Academy, or College by any Roman Catholic; and that all Uses, Trusts, and Dispositions, whether of real or personal property before deemed unlawful, shall continue to be so deemed.' The Legislature in thus studiously guarding against the establishment of Monastic Foundations in this country by any of *her own* subjects, certainly could not mean, that any *Foreign* Societies of this description (if such a case could then have

And what in truth has been the effect of Clerical Celibacy in the Church of Rome? Has it produced real Chastity, any more than the renunciation of Riches by some Orders has been accompanied with real Poverty? What judgement are we to form from the concurrent testimony of all times with respect to this? Read accounts, not of Reformers and Protestants, but of Roman Catholics themselves, of Italians living within the verge of that Court. Read their

have been foreseen) should be allowed to perpetuate these establishments *here* by the admission of *New Members*, either Foreigners, or Natives of the Kingdom.—In Canada, which before its conquest by us was a country entirely Roman Catholic, where a great majority of the inhabitants are still of that Church, and their Clergy are entitled by Law to receive from *those* inhabitants their antient tithes and dues, the British Legislature has thought proper to let the Monastic Communities of *Men* expire, by not permitting any *New Members* to be admitted; and there are now only two Franciscans and a Jesuit left at Quebec. There are three Convents of *Women* in the province, which lie under no restriction and are well filled. Lianc. vol. i, p. 317. Weld, vol. i. p. 352.

popular

popular Tales and lighter Compositions. (1) I do not however wish to retail the scandal of former times, which may not all have been true, and may have been often exaggerated; but will only mention a few particulars uncontroverted and notorious.

It might be expected, that the Popes, who imposed this Law of Celibacy on their Clergy, would themselves set an example of strict obedience to it. Nothing less. They did not indeed marry; but Concubinage supplied the place of Marriage. We hear their *Children* spoken of as such by all historians with as little reserve as the legitimate children of avowed marriage. It was the ambition of most of them to aggrandise their *Sons*; and the policy of a Papal reign was often wholly employed to procure for them by wars or intrigues establishments and principalities. (2) The

(1) I do not mean, that the incidents related in those pieces really happened; but that they shew the opinion of the times with respect to the manners of the Clergy in this respect.

(2) See Mach. Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 24.

Daughters

Daughters were disposed of to answer the same purposes of ambition. This was the common case. But in the list of Popes some characters occur, whose voluptuousness and infamy cannot be looked on without abhorrence. It may be presumed, that the great and rich Ecclesiastics of different countries did not in this respect observe a very strict system of morals, when they had before them such examples of irregularity in the Heads of their Church, the Vicars of Christ; which examples must be supposed also to have had their effect on Ecclesiastics of all degrees.

Nothing shews with clearer evidence the difficulty of enforcing obedience to this Law of Celibacy on the Clergy at large, than the multiplied decrees of Councils and Popes, and injunctions of Legates, for this purpose. Marriage was indeed prevented; but Concubinage, if it was not tolerated, was at least for the most part connived at; and when it was not, was treated as less criminal than Marriage. (1) The first was con-

(1) See Townsend. Vol.ii. 150.

fessedly a breach of the Law of God; but the last was contumacy against the Authority of the Church, and as such punished more severely. And our Henry VIII. in the true spirit of Popery, by a statute of the 31st year of his reign, made Marriage the *greater* offence, and punishable as Felony in both parties; while Concubinage was only punished by forfeiture of goods and spiritual promotions, and imprisonment, in the first instance. By a statute however in the following year they were put on an *equal* footing.

The fact is, that no authority, no laws, no decrees could counteract with effect this strong propensity of our Nature. The stream, which when suffered to flow in its proper channel gives fertility and beauty to the country through which it passes, if that be stopped or obstructed, will find for itself some other way, and will then become unsightly and destructive. Nature may be *guided*, but will not be *compelled*; to *regulate* her impulses is wise and proper, to *suppress* them altogether is impossible; and

and therefore it is absurd and immoral to attempt it. (1)

“Hail, wedded Love, mysterious Law,
true source

Of human offspring, sole propriety
In Paradise of all things common else.

By thee adult'rous Lust was driv'n from
men

Among the bestial herds to range ; by thee
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of Father, Son, and Brother, first were
known.

Far be' it, that I should write thee sin or
blame,

Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets,
Whose bed is undefiled and chaste pro-
nounced,

Present or past, as Saints or Patriarchs
used.” (2)

(1) To no case is more applicable the trite line of
Horace,

“Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.”

(2) Par. Lost, b.iv. 750.

to

To these admirable lines of our divine Milton I add not a word. (1)

(1) In speaking of the abstinences and celibacy enjoined by the Church of Rome, it is impossible not to remember, that '*forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats*, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving,' were pointed out by St. Paul as marks of the future Apostacy. 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.

The Canons respecting *Marriage* established by the Council of Trent, with the usual *Anathema* subjoined to each, are curious. See Sess. 24, at the beginning.

In few countries has Popery retained its full vigor down to recent times so much as in Spain. A true idea therefore of *Popery* may well be taken from a faithful account of it as subsisting there. Such an account has been given to the public by a very intelligent and observing Traveller, Mr. Townsend; who was there in the years 1786 and 1787. I have before cited him; but I would particularly refer to what he says on Monastic Institutions and Celibacy in Vol. ii. p. 40. 159. 233.—[Mr. M. says, that Mr. Townsend has the same prejudices on these subjects with myself. He certainly has. Ans. p. 47.]

LETTER IV.

On Religious Persecution.

IT is remarkable, that the Religion of Christ, which made Benevolence its distinguishing characteristic, should have given occasion to greater cruelty, exercised by Christians on one another, than any sect of Philosophy or any former Religion; a *phenomenon* like some others in the History of Mankind, which would hardly have been believed, if it had not been too notorious. This consequence did not however flow from the principles of the Religion itself, the most mild, the most conducive to social happiness, that had ever been recommended by persuasion or enforced by authority; but from the infirmities of some who mistook its real nature, and the wickedness of others who made it subservient to their own interests and passions.

Christians

Christians had been for three centuries themselves the objects of persecution, in that long period had *suffered* only, and had too little power, to become persecutors in their turn. But when their Religion obtained a decided ascendancy in the Roman Empire, and was protected by the Civil Power, dispositions which had been hitherto suppressed broke out; fierce contentions arose about things, in which true Religion was little or not at all concerned; men's reasoning powers were abused in defending or opposing opinions, that were generally mere disputes of word, to which they did not and could not annex any distinct ideas; and these controversies were carried on with the utmost violence and animosity.

The different Religions, which had prevailed in the heathen world, and especially near the times of Christianity, took a very slight hold, when compared with that Religion, of the minds of men. They were upon the face of them in a great measure fabulous; they could not command the serious belief even of the multitude, much

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less of the wiser and more thinking part of each community; nor did they effectually influence the practice of either. There was a sort of intercommunity of Gods, whom nations adopted as they thought fit, or supposed to be the same from some resemblance of attributes and character. The most favorable result of this was some general and confused idea, that there were Powers directing human affairs, and that it was our interest to please them; but *how* they were to be pleased or displeased, and the consequences of either, were matters of the greatest uncertainty. The Religion of the primitive Christian was quite of another kind. The certain knowledge of One God, the distinct information of the Duties we owe him, and the express declaration of a Future State, in which our condition will be such, as our conduct here shall have deserved, gave in *his* mind an importance to Religion beyond all worldly considerations, and made him look with horror on the heathen worship, on the number and characters of their Gods.

Hence

Hence arose a zeal for his own Religion and a reprobation of others, commendable, if directed by reason and tempered by moderation; but the effects of which, when not so directed and tempered, were highly pernicious to Christians themselves. For each sect supposing, (of course) that they thought *rightly* (1) (that is were Orthodox) not only on plain doctrines, but on points the most obscure and uncertain, and at the same time of the least consequence, they concluded it to be the duty of all others to think the same; and not only this, but that it was their own duty to *make* them think so, and to take measures little short of violence for that purpose.

Admitting, that this might originally proceed from misguided and intemperate zeal, the principle was afterwards eagerly embraced, and rendered subservient to the passions of the profligate and ambitious;

(1) This *Petitio principii*, that '*We are in the right*,' is apt tacitly to pervade most controversial writings between Authors of different communions, without perhaps their being themselves conscious of it.

who scrupled not to make Religion the means of accomplishing their worst designs, and the pretext for exercising the most dreadful cruelties. Rome adopted it in its utmost extent, and employed every species of terror to retain the enslaved Churches of Europe in the most strict subjection. The least deviation from her Doctrines, the least derogation from her Authority, were followed by punishments which the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers united to inflict. Heresy was to be extirpated or suppressed at all events, at any price of suffering or blood; even by Wars and Crusades, which were esteemed on that account holy and meritorious.

From such prejudices, which had too generally taken possession of the minds of Christians, it is no great wonder, if those who separated themselves from the Church of Rome were not wholly exempt. All Churches were intolerant and in some degree persecuting, and in that degree certainly deserve their due proportion of disapprobation and censure; but Rome maintained

tained a proud and unrivaled pre-eminence, as in power and extent of jurisdiction, so in the violent measures she employed to support them. Nothing was too perfidious, too cruel, too sanguinary, not to be sanctified, if its object were the extirpation of Heresy. Protestants at length began to come to their senses, and to learn the lesson of Toleration, which neither the principles on which they had parted from the Church of Rome, nor the evils which they had themselves suffered from their persecutors, had hitherto taught them. Religious Liberty grew to be better understood; the subject was discussed by able writers; and a Christian Philosopher (1) fully established the reasonableness of Toleration, limited only by the consideration of Public Tranquillity.

But Mr. M. says, 'that Persecution was

(1) Locke [to whom Mr. M. gives the epithet *delusive*. Ans. p. 267.] But it would be unjust not to mention Bishop Taylor who preceded him, whose *Liberty of Prophesying* (a quaint title after the fashion of the times) contains almost every argument, that can be used on the subject.

not a *Tenet* of the Roman Catholic Religion. (1) This is somewhat surprising; and, if it be true, all of us Protestants must have been long under a most egregious mistake. Let us consider, what are the proper tests of its being such a *Tenet* or not. I should conceive the Decrees and Acts of her Councils, the Bulls and Decla-

(1) Vol. i, p. 335. "It is to be observed, that if Mary was a Persecutor, it was not in virtue of any *Tenet* of her Religion that she became so." [Mr. M. repeats the same in his Ans. p. 59. If it be not (strictly speaking) a *Theological Tenet*, it follows, as a Corollary, from that worst of all *Theological Tenets*, 'that Salvation is confined exclusively to the Church of Rome.' No treatment therefore can be too bad for Heretics, who are the objects of God's wrath and doomed by him to eternal damnation. It becomes meritorious, and even charitable, to endeavour by every kind of temporal punishment to rescue men from eternal punishment, and to deter all from incurring it. This tenet also produces that restless and persevering spirit of making proselytes, which disturbs the peace and good neighbourhood of other churches, where it cannot employ authority and force. I do not recollect, that Mr. M. mentions this *Tenet*, either in his History or Answer.]

rations

rations of her Popes, the establishment of
 Tribunals, and the assertions of Writers
 with her of the highest authority, were
 such tests, and as such I will employ them.
 I will take a very few instances, for in this
 case the difficulty (if there be any) consists,
 not in procuring, but in selecting them.
 It is a case indeed in which a general
 appeal to the notoriety of History might be
 made with confidence, and thought suffi-
 cient. In all parts of Europe Heretics, that
 is those who differed from the Church of
 Rome, were delivered over by the Ecclesi-
 astical power to the Secular arm, and suf-
 fered the most dreadful of deaths by Burn-
 ing. Our own Country partook with the
 rest in this disgrace and cruelty; and the
Writ de Hæretico comburendo was not
 expunged from our legal forms till the 29th
 year of Charles II.

(1) In the 3d. chapter of the 4th Council

(1) I am obliged to the Appendix of Dr. Rennell's
 Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge
 on July 1, 1798, for the following extract of the De-
 crees of the 4th Council of Lateran.

of Lateran holden under Innocent III. in 1215, a Council of high authority, *All Heretics* are excommunicated and anathematised; and on conviction are to be given up to the Secular Power in order to be *duely punished*.—Those, who are *suspected only*, except they prove their innocence, are to be anathematised, excommunicated, and if they continue in that state for a year to be *condemned as Heretics*.—Secular Magistrates of whatever degree are to be *compelled* to exert their utmost endeavours for the *extermination of all Heretics*; and if any Governor neglect to do this, he is to be excommunicated, and after a year (as before) denounced to the Pope, *who shall absolve his subjects from their allegiance and let true Catholics take possession of his country*.—The Catholics who take the Cross for the purpose of *exterminating Heretics*, shall be intitled to the same indulgences and privileges with Crusaders to the Holy Land. (2) Excommunication, and

(2) The Crusade against the Albigenses under Simon de Montfort took place in 1209,

under

all

all sorts of disabilities and penalties connected with it, are denounced on the *favourers* of Heretics.—And Bishops and Archdeacons are enjoined, wherever any Heretics are reported to live, to take, once in the year at least, information concerning them on Oath from some of their neighbours; who, if they refuse the oath, are themselves to be accounted Heretics. (1)

So much for the *Decrees* of one Council, let us see the *Acts* of another. Wyckliff's opinions had been favorably received, and had made considerable progress in Bohemia. John Huss attended the Council of Constance in support of them, and in justification of himself and his brethren in belief,

(1) The Inquisition, of which these are the outlines, was begun in 1204 and committed to the Dominicans in 1233.

I cannot follow Mr. M, in explaining away the Acts of Councils; or by any means agree to his getting rid on the authority of two authors, of a Canon as spurious which has been cited as authentic by so many others, both Catholic and Protestant, as to be *backneyed*.
Ans. 64. See Dupin. Biblioth. Tom. 10. p. 105.]

under

under the protection of a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, who sat there in his imperial capacity. At the instance of the Council (*the public faith* given by the Emperor was violated, and Huss was burnt. Jerome of Prague attended also from the same country and on the same account, protected by *the public faith* of the Council itself. He was also burnt. Perfidy was in this instance joined with cruelty. (1)

The
 [(1) Mr. M. in his Answer, p. 75, undertakes the arduous task of vindicating Sigismund, the Emperor, and the Council of Constance for their treatment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. In the Diet of Worms however, before which Luther appeared under the safe-conduct of Charles V. in 1521, the Elector Palatine opposed with indignation the advice given by some to follow the example of that Council and to violate the public faith by seizing Luther; which (he said) would fix indelible disgrace on the German nation. Sleidan, lib.iii. fol. 37. Father Paul. lib. i. p. 13. And Charles himself refused to comply with so dishonorable a proposal declaring, 'that he did not chuse to blush with his predecessor Sigismund;' who had blushed, on being reminded by Huss in that Council of his having been induced to appear at it under

The Massacre of the Hugonots at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, and nearly at the same time all over France, under Charles IX. in which 40,000 persons (1) were supposed to have perished, stands reprobated from all its circumstances as the most detestable action on record in History. Yet Pope Gregory XIII considered it as an event of the most auspicious kind, celebrated it with public thanksgivings and rejoicings at Rome, and then appointed a Jubilee for this and other successes of the Catholic cause. He sent a Nuncio with the greatest solemnity to congratulate the King on the occasion, and struck a medal of himself, on the reverse of which was an Angel slaughtering the Hugonots with this inscription, *Hugonottorum Strages 1572.* (2) You will ob-

under the protection of the public faith granted by himself.

[L'Enfant Conc. de Constance, liv. iii. c. 43.]

(1) Davila, lib. v. p. 320. ed. Lond.

(2) See Thuan. Hist. I. liii. cap. iv. The medal, belonging to the Pembroke Collection, is engraved in the beginning of the 3d volume, ed. Buckley.

serve,

serve, that I do not lay so much stress on the act itself, however detestable, as on the joy expressed, and the marked approbation given it, by the Pope.

But the Inquisition comprises in itself all the horrors of Religious Persecution under their most dreadful and inhuman form, and was instituted by the Popes for the express purpose of exterminating Heresy; a Tribunal, which from its excessive and refined cruelty became proverbial. The investigation of what was called Heresy, (for it was made to extend to every thing that concerned Religion or the Clergy in the most remote way) the mode of the Process in which the accusers were unknown to the criminal, the Imprisonment which was attended with every kind of severity, and with every *apparatus* which could affect the mind with terror and despair, the Tortures used to extort confession, and finally the cruel death *by fire* of the wretched victims, rendered still more exquisite (if possible) by the affected humanity of their relentless persecutors, formed its striking features.

features. The fanatic Dominic took the lead in this knight-errantry of zeal and inhumanity. The Popes applauded it; sanctioned it by their authority; gave it system and form; and would have established it throughout Europe; but several Catholic countries dreading the miseries, which such a Tribunal would produce, persevered in refusing to admit it. It is well known, that the war of the Low Countries and the separation of the Seven United Provinces were in consequence of Philip's endeavouring to impose the yoke of the Inquisition on that part of his subjects. The dreadful Executions commanded by this Tribunal were exhibited with all the affectation of piety and ostentation of terror; and were called *Acts of Faith*. What must have been the Faith of those Christians, who could inflict such punishments, and preside at such executions! (1)

(1) Augebat horrorem perversa et præpostera judiciorum forma, quæ contra naturalem æquitatem et omnem legitimum ordinem in jurisdictione illa explicanda observatur; tum etiam immanitas tormentorum, quibus

I cannot give a better specimen of the authority of *Writers* to the same purpose, than by transcribing a note of Bishop Hurd's in his *Introduction to the study of the Prophecies, &c.* *The Persecution of Heretics* M. Bossuet regards as so little dishonorable to his Communion, that he thinks it a point not to be called in question—calls the use of the Sword in matters of Religion an undoubted right—and concludes, that there is no illusion more dangerous than to consider TOLERATION, as a mark of the True Church—*l'exercice*

quibus plerumque contra veritatem, quicquid delegatis judicioibus libebat, a miseris et innocentibus reis, ut se cruciatibus eximerent, per vim extorquebatur; quod fiebat, ut non tam pietatis tuendæ causa eam inventam dicerent, cui alia via satis ex antiqua Ecclesiæ disciplina prospectum esset, quam ut, eversis ista ratione etiam omnium fortunis, liberis capitibus periculum crearetur." Thuan. Hist. lib. iii. cap. iv. See Townsend on the Inquisition in Barcelona, Vol. i. 119—V (iii. 333.

It might be said, in the form of the Italian proverb, mentioned in the foregoing letter; *Cbi dice l'Inquisitione, dice Crudeltà.*

de la puissance du glaive dans les matieres de la religion et de la conscience, chose qui ne peut être revoquée en doute le droit est certain—il n'y a point d'illusion plus dangereuse, que de donner LA SOUFFRANCE (1) pour un caractere de Vraye Eglise. *Hist. des. Var. lib. x. p. 511 Par. 1740. 12°.*

Thus this great Doctor of the Catholic Church towards the close of the last Century. And just now (in 1772) another eminent Writer of that Communion very roundly defends the murder of the Bohemian Martyrs at Constance, and (what is more provoking still) the fraud and ill faith, through which the pious and tender hearted Fathers of the Council rushed to the perpetration of it. *M. Crevier Hist. de l'Université de Paris. Tom. iii. lib. vi. p. 435. &c. 12°. 1761.* Can it be worth while

(1) [The Bishop translates SOUFFRANCE TOLeration, rightly; Mr. M. chuses to translate it SUFFERING, contrary to the evident sense and connection of the passage. *Ans. p. 83.*]

proceeds

(proceeds the Bishop) to spend words in fixing this charge of *Intolerance* on the Church of Rome, when her ablest advocates as we see, even in our days, openly triumph in it? But, then, hath she forgotten, who it was that the Prophet saw, *drunken with the blood of the Saints and with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus?* *Rev. xvii. 6.* Alas no! But she wonders by what figure of speech *Heretics* are called *Saints*; and *Rebels to the Pope, Martyrs of Jesus.*" (1)

We have another declaration of Bossuet's sentiments on this subject in an address to Lewis XIV on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. "Let me indulge the movement of my heart, and dwell on the piety of our Monarch: let me raise to heaven my applauding voice: let me address this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this other Marcian, this other Charlemagne, in the words with which the six hundred and thirty fathers expressed their

(1) Serm. xi. On the Prophetic Character of Antichrist, p. 381.

sentiments to the Emperor at the Council of Chalcedon :—*‘ You have strengthened the faith, you have exterminated the heretics ; it is the most meritorious act of your reign. King of Heaven ! preserve the King of the earth ! It is the ardent desire of the Church, it is the ardent desire of the Assembly, of her Pastors, and of her Bishops.’* (1)

If Decrees and Acts of Councils, solemn and public Declarations of Popes, Establishment of Tribunals, and Positions maintained by Writers of the highest authority in the Church of Rome be not proofs of her *Tenets*, I profess not to know what can be such. Mr. M. however expresses in several places his disapprobation of Persecution,

(1) I give this passage as translated by a Roman Catholic Gentleman, Mr. Jerningham, in a late publication, who much to his honor thus prefaces it ; “ It is with painful admiration, that we find this Prelate gives a full and unrestrained applause to this act of Intolerance ;” and he proceeds for himself and for many others of his Communion to reprobate such a doctrine altogether.

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and calls that *odious*, which was carried on with such violence and cruelty in the reign of Queen Mary. (1) I commend his humanity and good sense for so doing, but I tremble for his orthodoxy. I am almost afraid he is not a good Catholic. Whereas You and I are at full liberty to express our detestation of Persecution in all its forms and under every pretence, to assign an adequate portion of censure to every degree of it, from whatever quarter it may come, by whatever hand it may be inflicted; whether the persecutor be a Pope, or a King as imperious and as bigoted, whether a Council or a Synod, a Catholic or a Protestant. The opinions or the misconduct of our Protestant Ancestors in this respect are not binding on us; we allow them no claim to Infallibility; and when we see how long it was, before they could divest themselves of their old prejudices, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on living at a period farther removed from these violent and san-

(1) Vol. i. p. 359.

guinary religious contentions, and having our minds more enlightened by just reasoning and liberal discussion; on being subject to no despotism either Ecclesiastical or Civil; but only to the salutary restraints of a mild Government, under which we may think and speak with freedom. (1)

The idea of establishing absolute Uniformity of Religious Opinion in any one country, and still more in different countries, is romantic and impracticable; to attempt producing it by force unreasonable and wicked. Such a Uniformity may be thought in the abstract a desirable thing; but whoever knows Human Nature, must know, that it cannot in fact ever be obtained.

Subjects of all kinds, which admit of doubt, are viewed by different minds under different aspects; and this is the case especially with religious subjects, of which many are from their nature difficult and

(1) The Laws against Popery will be noticed in the following Letters.

obscure. The manner in which we conceive God to exist, his Providence and Government of the World, his Dispensations to mankind and the Relations we stand in to him, his revealed Will and the particular Doctrines of that Revelation, (besides the multiplicity of questions, that human rashness or curiosity have created) are subjects, some of them, the most difficult that can be proposed to the limited faculties of Man. They may be understood by us sufficiently for all the purposes of duty and practice, but not for the attainment of perfect and distinct knowlege. Inquirers therefore with the fairest minds and purest intentions will in their reasonings about them form different conclusions; that is, they will disagree in their religious opinions. The way to prevent the inconveniences of such disagreement is, not to attempt what is impracticable; still less to attempt it by violence; but to place the Public Religion of a Country on as broad a basis as possible; to adhere to great leading points in which the generality are agreed, but

but to avoid minute subdivisions of faith and unnecessary distinctions, which only serve to narrow each communion and to multiply lines of separation; and to let all less important opinions float down the stream, in which if they are not opposed they will occasion no obstruction. The conduct of most Protestant Churches, as well as that of the Roman Church, has been in this respect not to be commended; it is probable that, as in the case of Toleration, they will profit in this by longer experience.

The object of Bossuet, perhaps the most acute and able advocate of the Church of Rome, in writing his celebrated work on the *Variations of the Protestant Churches*, was to expose the great variety of religious opinions professed by Protestants, and to infer from thence the necessity of adhering to One Infallible Church. The variety is certain; and, if the Church *were* infallible the inference would be just. But it has been well observed by those most conversant in Ecclesiastical History, that the

Church of Rome has been *really* almost as much divided against herself, as Protestants are from one another; though this has always been studiously dissembled, and (as far as it could be) concealed, by having the broad mantle of Papal Supremacy thrown over all their differences.

To attempt, under the idea of attaining greater perfection, impracticable things, which Human Nature and the state of the world do not admit, either with respect to Religion or Government, is not only sure of being unsuccessful, but also of producing the greatest inconveniences and evils. The case of Government I have before mentioned; the effect has been unfortunately too well exemplified. And in Religion, when impracticable attempts are made, from the resistance they necessarily occasion, the passions of zealots and unprincipled men are let loose on the more virtuous part of mankind, and have produced every sort of convulsion and misery. They have inflicted, for their own gratification and to serve their own interests, the most
grievous

grievous injuries that Human Nature can suffer, and occasioned the most extensive calamities that History has recorded; all under the specious name of Religion, the Religion of that Master, who made Benevolence its characteristic precept, by the practice of which his Disciples were to be distinguished. (1)

(1) "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." John xiii. 34. 35.

Persecutions differ in their professed motives, but are similar in their effects; in these Atheism and Superstition, Jacobins and Religious Zealots perfectly agree. Executions, imprisonments, confiscations, banishment compose the horrid list of cruelties on the one part and of sufferings on the other in either case. The severities, with which Lewis XIV. treated his Protestant subjects on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes towards the conclusion of the last century, have been repeated on the unfortunate French Emigrants and Priests at the end of the present.

LETTER V.

*On the Reformation under Henry VIII.
and his Successors.*

THE causes of the Reformation had long been operating, before they had arrived at sufficient maturity to produce that great and general defection of whole Countries from the authority of the Roman See, which took place in the 16th century. The enormous abuses of that Church, the extravagant pretensions of her Pontiffs and their aggressions on the Civil Power, the excessive numbers, wealth, and immunities of her Clergy, and the doctrines she engrafted on Christianity and imposed on the world (doctrines unauthorised by Scripture, repugnant to the common sense of mankind, and for the most part calculated to answer some indirect purpose of policy or profit)

profit) could not have escaped the observation of the more discerning and virtuous persons of those times, and must have been disapproved by them, notwithstanding all the prejudices and superstition, which had then taken almost general possession of the world. But Rome constantly maintained such a vigilant and inflexible policy, every attempt to derogate from her Power or to controvert her Doctrines was followed by such severe and dreadful punishment, that terror generally prevented any such attempt, or if it was made suppressed it.

There were however not only individuals, but the inhabitants of whole districts, who had courage and integrity enough to protest against those corruptions of true Christianity, and in their worship and practice to reject them. On these the Church induced the Magistrates of their respective countries to inflict the most cruel punishments; and when the Civil Power was unequal to this inhuman task, not being able to punish whole provinces in the gross, recourse was had

had to formal War. (1) War was declared, and carried on with unusual cruelty by Christians against Christians on account of Religion at the instigation and under the auspices and benediction of the Pope, the professed head of the Christian Church. It was considered as an act of piety and merit

(1) Against the Valdenses or Albigenses under Simon de Montfort. A million of men are supposed to have perished in it. Perionius cited by Mede. p. 626. See Thuan. Præf. p. 7. ed. Buckley; and of their Tenets, the same Historian, lib. vi. 16. Of these Mezeray says, "Ils avoient à peu près les mêmes opinions, que ceux, qu'on nomme aujourd'hui Calvinistes." Abr. Chron. Philippe Auguste. Mr. M. in some publication chuses to call them the *infamous Albigenses*. [In answer to the odious invectives, with which Mr. M. loads the Albigenses, (Ans. p. 67, &c.) I beg to refer the Reader to Thuanus, the upright and impartial Historian above cited. The account given there of their *Tenets* is too long to be here inserted. But I recommend to his perusal the whole of the 16th chapter of the 6th book, in which their *Sufferings* (dreadful and disgraceful to human nature) are also related. For a more full account and defence of them against the misrepresentations of Bossuet, see Remarks on their Eccl. History by Allix.]

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in the leaders and all who engaged in it, and was therefore styled a *Crusade*; they were intitled also to all the privileges and indulgences, which the Popes so liberally bestowed on those who under the same title carried war into the Holy Land; (1) as if it had not been sufficient to encourage Crusades against Infidels, expeditions in themselves unjust and ruinous, the effects of the superstition and frenzy of the times. (2)

To the causes of discontent and disapprobation, which had been gradually accumulating against the Church of Rome, be-

(1) See the foregoing extract from the Decrees of the 4th Council of Lateran.

(2) Vol. i. p. 266. note (1). Mr. M. supposes, that Europe was indebted to the Crusades for escaping from being completely conquered by the Mahometans, who thereby were attacked at home and sufficiently employed in their own defence. But he does not consider the immense expenditure of men and treasure (immense almost beyond belief) occasioned by these wars, which surely would not have been useless in the defence of the respective countries from whence they issued.

fore

fore the Reformation broke out with a degree of force no longer to be resisted, was added the revival of Literature, to which the taking of Constantinople (1) and the dispersion of the learned Greeks, expelled from their own country, much contributed. They were received and protected in Italy, principally by the Medici family, and of them by Lorenzo, and his Son Pope Leo X who has been much and deservedly celebrated on this account; and whose age has been ranked among the most auspicious in the History of the world for the recovery and communication of that valuable mass of ancient Learning, which had lain dormant, unnoticed, and perishing during so many ages. (2) But however advantageous this might be to mankind at large, to the interests of the Papacy it was cer-

(1) 1453.

(2) "—— See! each Muse in Leo's golden days,
Starts from her trance, and trims her wither'd bays;
Rome's ancient Genius, o'er its ruins spread,
Shakes off the dust, and rears his rev'rend head."

Pope's Essay on Crit. 697.

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tainly prejudicial; for by it the attention of studious men was turned into another channel, their minds were expanded, and could no longer admit or bear the absurd jargon of scholastic sophistry, which had tyrannised without controul over the common sense and understanding of men.

The state of the world therefore being thus ready, a spark was only wanting to kindle it into a flame. Such was the case of Indulgences (1) in Germany, and Henry's Divorce

(1) Vol.ii. p. 32. note (1). To comprehend the doctrine of Indulgences, Mr. M. recommends it to the Modern Reader to carry his ideas back to the practice of the Primitive Church. (See the whole note.) I will only desire him to read Tetzels form of Absolution and account of the efficacy of Indulgences, when he distributed them in Germany, in Robertson's Charles V. vol.ii. p. 80. 4to.; and to remember, that they were resorted to by Leo X as a measure of finance; that they are now sold at a low price on Jubilee years, and perhaps at other times, in Rome and make a constant article of annual revenue in Spanish South America.—*Crusades* with *Indulgences* granted on them make now a part of the revenue of Old Spain, and are reckoned to produce more than 200,000l. per ann. Townsend. vol. ii. p. 171. [On the subject of superstition

Divorce in England. The former was itself a gross instance of papal abuse, the latter led indirectly to an examination and rejection of abuses. The motives of the principal actors which produced the Reformation were different in different countries; and were good and bad, like the motives which have produced other important events in the History of the world. We all acknowledge, that the state of Empires and Kingdoms, and the revolutions which have taken place in them, are determined by God, and so directed as to accomplish the purposes of his providence; for a proof that they are so, we see them in some instances predicted. But the means by which these effects are produced, the instruments which are employed to produce them, are often the most destructive of human happiness (says Mr. M. Ans. p. 97.) Dr. S. refers me to Tetzels Theses, which he knows to have been condemned by the Pope's Nuncio, Miltitz himself.—Indeed I did not know it; and I now presume, that they were not condemned, till the affair of *Indulgences* had grown serious, and threatened the most disagreeable consequences.]

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piness, and most destitute of moral virtue. For Wars have been generally the means, and Conquerors the instruments, but Wars occasion the greatest calamities, and Conquerors (taken in the gross) are the most immoral of mankind.

The resistance Henry met with in the accomplishment of his wishes from the Court of Rome, led him first to question its jurisdiction; the more this was examined, the weaker it appeared. From this to question its discipline and doctrines was only another step; the nation was prepared for it, they were sufficiently impressed with the abuses of both; and the revenues of the Religious Houses held out a rich prospect of spoils to the King and his rapacious Courtiers. (1) But to the misfortune

(1) Whatever *power* a Government may have over Ecclesiastical Property, it certainly acts *immorally*, if it diverts to improper purposes, or diminishes in an improper degree, revenues *originally* destined for the support of Religion, and which should continue to be an *adequate* support of it. And to Ecclesiastical Owners it certainly acts *unjustly*, if it deprives them of what they possessed *rightfully* under the laws

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misfortune of individuals, the legal Religion of the country remained in the most fluctuating state, depending on Henry's caprice; and as this operated, to maintain the Pope's Supremacy was Treason, but to deny Popish Doctrines, some of them the most unreasonable, was Heresy and punishable by fire; a dreadful dilemma! To such a degree of servitude was the English Parliament reduced, (who indeed formally gave up their legislative authority into the King's hands;) and in this cruel situation were those persons placed, whose public station or private integrity happened in these respects particularly to expose them. Henry as a Man and a Civil Governor was

their Country, without at least making them a sufficient compensation. In both these respects, Henry's conduct is highly censurable; and the French Republican Governors have carried their immorality and injustice in this, as they have done in every thing else, to the extreme. It must however be acknowledged, that in Henry's reign were passed many wise and good Laws respecting the Church, which in a great measure form the basis of our present Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence.

a Tyrant; as an Ecclesiastical Governot, a Pope.

It is painful to see the dreadful trials, to which some of the most virtuous men on both sides were subject, during his reign and that of his bigoted and unrelenting Daughter. We must be insensible to the feelings and infirmities of our common nature, if from any spirit of religious party we can look with exultation, or even without horror, at their sufferings; if our pity for them, and our indignation at their persecutors, be not sufficient to excuse their frailties and to palliate their faults. When such a man as the philosophic More is brought to the scaffold and the respectable Cranmer committed to the flames, I wish to forget, that More himself had ordered Heretics to be whipped and tortured in his sight, and that Cranmer had procured the execution of an Anabaptist. (1)

After

(1) [Mr. M. asserts, and perhaps with truth, that Cranmer was, if not the immediate agent, yet instrumental in the death of several other persons; (Ans. p. 117, &c.) but however we may condemn him for

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this

After the death of Henry the change of the national Religion made more uniform advances, being favored by most of the principal members of the Government, as well as by the majority of the Nation, and being not liable to be continually checked by the caprice and humor of the Sovereign. From this time the Reformation acquired more consistency; the most exceptionable Tenets of the old Church were disallowed, and the more superstitious Rites abolished; the public Forms of Worship were adapted to the opinions of the Reformers. But these changes were introduced with moderation; as much of the antient Forms was retained, as the case would admit; and the appearances of violent innovation avoided.

this, (as I do most heartily) it will still be true, that amidst the violent prejudices, and cruel principles (derived chiefly from the old Religion,) such men on either side as More and Cranmer, who being placed in the most trying circumstances more than compensated infirmities, then *common* to all, by virtues almost *peculiar* to themselves, should be regarded by us with indulgence and respect.]

But

But the plunder of Ecclesiastical property continued unrestrained; many unjust measures took place; and this short reign was disgraced by the execution of two Protestants for Heresy.

These promising appearances of the Reformation were blasted by the succession of Mary, whose fidelity to her own Religion during the late turbulent and dangerous times would have deserved commendation, if it had not been joined with such inflexible cruelty towards those, who had abandoned it. Coming to the Crown with these strong and (considering the hard usage of her Mother) natural prepossessions in favor of Popery, she suffered these so far to prevail, as to make her reign more inauspicious, more melancholy, and more disgusting, than any which occurs in the English Annals. In addition to the apprehensions, which her own zeal and that of her Ministers could not fail to excite in the part of the nation favorable to the Reformers, they were alarmed in the highest degree at her marriage with Philip son of the Emperor

Charles V, which seemed to threaten not only the Reformed Religion with extirpation, but also the liberties and independence of the Country. Philip was, after the resignation of Charles, the most powerful Prince in Europe, the most devoted to the Roman See, and the most relentless persecutor of his age.

The tenor of Mary's government was such as might be from hence expected. The Catholic Religion was restored in its full extent; all the adverse Laws of the two preceding reigns were swept away; the See of Rome was courted to receive the Kingdom again into its allegiance; and a scene of executions and horrors succeeded, which has merited the almost unanimous execration of posterity.

Providence put a stop to this by the death of Mary, who fortunately for England was childless; and Elizabeth, whose personal safety had been often in danger from the zeal and malignity of her Sister, ascended the throne. She took a decided, but not an imprudent and precipitate, part

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in favor of the Reformation, which after so many convulsions was at length established finally by her in this country. But it may easily be conceived,* that when the minds of men had been so violently agitated by the contest of religious parties, and inflamed against each other by mutual injuries, a Sovereign in the situation of Elizabeth must have much to apprehend from the zealous partisans of the old Religion within her own dominions, and from the attempts of foreign powers to disturb her government. And of this she had an immediate instance; for, on the English Ambassador at Rome notifying her accession to Paul IV, this violent old Pontiff told him, “that England was a Fief of the Holy See; that she could not inherit that kingdom being illegitimate; that it was an act of high audacity in her to assume the title and government without his concurrence; that he could not annul the decisions of Clement VII and Paul III on this subject; that she did not deserve from him any regard to her pretensions, but that if she renounced them,

and submitted her case entirely to him, he would do every thing which could be done consistently with the dignity of the Apostolic See! (1) Elizabeth on this recalled her Ambassador, and proceeded without regarding the Pope to settle her government.

This was a sort of declaration of war against her on the part of Popery; a war, which indeed continued during the whole of her reign. For the security of the Protestant Religion was inseparably connected with the security of her person and government; and every attempt against either, whether foreign or domestic, was on the ground or under the pretence of Religion; the hostility of the Roman Catholic world was all directed to her destruction. The King of France Henry II endeavoured to procure from the Pope Elizabeth's excommunication; but, not succeeding in that, he ordered his son the Dauphin and Mary (the unfortunate Queen of Scots) to assume the

(1) Father Paul, lib. v. p. 398.

title of King and Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and to quarter the Arms of England with those of Scotland; and when on the death of Henry II Francis II succeeded to the Crown of France, they retained the same pretensions and acted as Sovereigns of England. (1) In 1562 a conspiracy was formed by two nephews of the late Cardinal Pole and others in favor of Mary; and the conspirators after being convicted were pardoned by Elizabeth. (2) In 1569 the Duke of Norfolk was imprisoned for attempting to marry the Queen of Scots; and an insurrection was raised in the North by Northumberland, Westmoreland, and others. The insurgents in their manifesto required, "that the Duke of Norfolk and other Faithful Peers, who were deprived of their Title and Honor, should be restored to liberty and the Queen's favor." (3) Pius V ~~in 1567~~ published a Bull against Elizabeth, excommu-

(1) Camden in Kennett, p. 378.

(2) Heylin, p. 154. (3) Camden. p. 422.

nicated her, declared her title to the Crown void, and absolved her subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance. (1) In 1571 Norfolk entered into a new conspiracy, for which he suffered. Both these attempts were made in concert with the Duke of Alva the Spanish Governor of the Low Countries, and were to have been supported by an invasion of the kingdom from that quarter.

Alva was at this time exercising his cruelties in those provinces, by which he drove them into rebellion; and, when he quitted that government in 1579, boasted, that he had delivered 18,000 rebellious Heretics into

(1) Camden. p. 427.

Mr. M. vol. i. p. 258, has a long note on the casuistry of Oaths and Absolution from them, which he professes to state *candidly* and *briefly*. Without going to Thomas Aquinas, (with whom I am not acquainted) as he does, I only infer from the *general practice* of this and other Popes, that Oaths of Allegiance from Subjects to their Sovereign (at least a Protestant Sovereign) came within the description of those, which might be annulled.

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the hands of the executioner. (1) In 1572 was achieved the execrable Massacre of Paris; and it appeared, that the great Catholic powers of Europe had entered into a conspiracy for extirpating the Protestant Religion by whatever means, even the most perfidious, violent, and cruel. (2) Elizabeth's situation placed her at the head of this Religion, and she was therefore the principal object of their attempts. There were also formed about this time some institutions directly levelled against the Religion of this country. These were seminaries at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, for the express purpose of educating English Ecclesiastics, who were to act as Missionaries in the Kingdom, to inspire the Queen's

(1) Grot. Ann. lib. ii. p. 43.

(2) In 1565 the meeting of the Queen Mother of France, her Daughter the Queen of Spain, and the Duke of Alva, took place at Bayonne; where, under the cover of gaiety and festivity, measures were secretly concerted between Catharine and Philip for the extermination of all Protestants throughout Europe. Davila. lib. iii. p. 165. Lond. ed.

subjects with detestation of her as an Heretic and devoted to perdition, and to encourage them to execute on her the Papal Sentence. (1) The Jesuits also a new religious Order, who outdid others in their devotion to the Roman See, and their exaggerations of the Papal power, then first got access to this Country. (2)

Throckmorton's Conspiracy concerted with Spain was discovered in 1584; (3) and Parry's against the Queen's life in 1585. This last was encouraged by a Jesuit, a Nuncio, a Cardinal, and the Pope. (4) Babington's, in which also the Queen was to be assassinated, took place in 1586; to this Mary acceded, and it was on this ground that she suffered.

In 1588 Philip equipped his Invincible Armada; and Sixtus V seconded the enterprise with all his spiritual authority. He

(1) Camden. p. 476.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Camden. p. 498.

(4) Palmio — Campeggio — Como — Gregory XIII, the same who approved the Massacre of Paris. Camden. Parry's Confession. p. 502.

renewed the Bulls of Pius and Gregory against Elizabeth; (1) he excommunicated her, dethroned her, absolved her subjects

(1) 'The Body of Catholics, (Mr. M. assures us, vol. ii. note (1) p. 384) instead of receiving the Papal Bull of excommunication and dethronement, positively rejected it. They knew how to acknowledge the Spiritual Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome without ascribing to him *one atom of Temporal Authority*. Hence when Philip II sent his Invincible Armada to execute that Bull, the Catholic Nobility and Gentry petitioned the Queen to be placed in the foremost ranks to oppose the intended invasion; as T. Higgons a Protestant Minister writes.' It is somewhat extraordinary, that three *Infallible* Popes in succession should issue Bulls for such *temporal purposes* as dethronement, &c. in which they *had not an atom of authority*, and that the Body of English Catholics should disallow this authority. They did indeed (to do them justice) generally express the highest zeal for the public defence. I can easily conceive, that in this instance their natural good sense and attachment to their Country might prevail over the absurd principles of their Religion. Philip too, as a Conqueror or a Sovereign, was formidable even to Catholics. [Mr. M. however allows, that they refused to swear, that the doctrine in favor of the *Deposing Power* was *Heresy, Impiety, and deserving of damnation*. Ans. p. 182.]

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from their allegiance, published a Crusade against her, and granted plenary indulgences to all those who should contribute to its success. (1)

I have thought it necessary to enter into this detail in order to shew, that a continual war was carried on against Elizabeth throughout her reign *on account of Religion*; that her life and government were continually attempted in every way; and

(1) [Queen Elizabeth's Minister, Dale, complained to the Duke of Parma, that Cardinal Allen, an Englishman, (the Founder according to Mr. M. of Douay College, Ans. p. 144.) had published a Book on this occasion, in which he exhorted the Nobility and People of England to execute the Pope's Sentence against the Queen, by which she was declared a Heretic, &c. Camden. p. 545. This is not easily reconcilable with what Mr. M. says (Ans. p. 145.) 'that the Students of that College were taught to be subject to their Princes and Civil Magistrates in all points, except those of a religious nature; *'not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake*', and were particularly admonished to acknowledge the Queen's Title to the throne, notwithstanding the sentence of Excommunication, which stood out against her.']

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that all these attempts were made *under the encouragement, sanction, and authority of the Roman See*. I do not mean to enter into a general examination of her character; to vindicate her imperiousness towards her own subjects, or her injustice, hypocrisy, and cruelty towards her unfortunate Rival; but I wished to place the situation in which she stood with respect to Popery in a proper light, that a fair judgment may be formed of her conduct in this particular; and that it may be seen, whether she deserves to be compared with her Sister Mary as a persecutor. Mr. M. however has thought proper to do this. (1)

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(1) His History of Winchester *before the Reformation* tends to countenance all the Legends, to recommend all the Institutions, and to support all the pretensions of the Roman Church, while it stood alone and unopposed in this kingdom; and *after this period* it takes the form of an Apology for that and a Satire on the Reformed Church established here by Law, carrying on a constant comparison, which always tends to the advantage of the one and the disadvantage of the other. To most of the persons concerned in any transactions or placed in any situations which regard Religion,

"There is (says he) greater reason for this [comparison between Mary's and Elizabeth's persecution,] as the fact is generally unknown, and as a right understanding and balancing of accounts in this matter may contribute to cut off one of the virulent sources of religious animosity, and dispose Christians of different communions to forgive each other the faults of their predecessors." (1) Let us then examine this account.

We may just observe, that Henry's persecution was that of a Pope, rather than of a King; and it was *anceps*, it operated against both parties. During Edward's reign, in which the Reformed Religion had a decided ascendancy, no Papist suffered. It was indeed disgraced by the execution of two (as they were called) Heretical Protestants. Edward died July 6, 1553. On

Religion, it is surprising how faithfully he dispenses commendation and censure in exact proportion, as they approach nearer to his standard of perfection, the Roman Faith, or recede farther from it.

(1) Vol. i. p. 379.

Northumberland's

Northumberland's attempt to raise Lady Jane Gray to the throne, Mary fled into Suffolk and there promised those who joined her standard, that she would not change the Religion established by the laws of her predecessor. Lady Jane's party was soon defeated, and Mary proclaimed July 19. Very soon after, measures were taken for restoring with all haste the Catholic Religion. The Bishops of that communion were reinstated; Protestant Preachers were silenced; the former Bishops ejected without due form of Law, and imprisoned. Judge Hales was also imprisoned, because he objected to the illegality of these measures, though at the end of the last reign he had alone the merit of defending the Queen's Title, and of resisting all the influence and power of Northumberland employed to gain his concurrence. But this did not avail him. The men of Suffolk ~~were~~ brow-beaten and one of them was punished for reminding the Queen of her promise. Yet she had again Aug. 12. declared in Council, that she would force

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no man's conscience. (1) Cranmer was also imprisoned; he was certainly exposed to the charge of treason; but Mary reserved him for a more cruel punishment, a punishment, which marked the crime for which he suffered as the crime of Religion. Neither did his former good offices with her violent Father in her behalf avail him. Foreign Protestants were suffered to depart; but, as many English fled also, the Council issued orders to prevent their leaving the kingdom. (2) All this was done in the first three months of her reign before the meeting of Parliament Oct. 5, in which the Statutes of Edward with regard to Religion were at once repealed. (3)

Then followed the negociation of Mary's marriage with Philip, and Wyat's insurrection, occasioned by the just apprehensions of the public both on account of Religion and national Independence; which

(1) Burnet. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 226.

(2) Burnet. vol. ii. p. 231.

(3) Mar. Parl. ii. c. 1.

operated also with her second Parliament, who (however disposed to gratify the Queen) took measures to secure the Nation from any incroachments of Philip's authority. The marriage was celebrated July 25, 1554. A third Parliament, which was ready to comply with the Queen's wishes in all matters of Religion, except restoring Church Lands, entertained the same jealousy of Philip, refusing to declare him the presumptive Heir of the Crown, to let the administration be put into his hands, or even to permit his coronation. (1)

It would be ridiculous to take notice (as Mr. M. does very gravely) on any other account than that of policy, of the *mildness* of the Pope's (2) instructions for bringing back this Kingdom to the bosom of the Roman Church; the *strong aversion* of the Legate (3) from extremity and rigor; and

(1) Godwin. p. 348.

(2) Julius III, absorbed in debauchery and intemperance. Thuan. vol. i. p. 517. See also p. 52. note (3).

(3) This might be said with some truth of Cardinal Pole, who was really mild, as far as his Religion and

and the *moderation* of Philip himself and his Chaplains, who by his order publicly condemned the persecutions, that were then carried on, as being opposite to the Christian spirit and detrimental to the interests of religion. (1) For under this *moderate* Prince and his Father Charles V, it has been computed, that from the time of Charles's Edict against the Reformers there had been 50,000 persons in the Low Countries alone hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt on account of Religion. (2) The bigotry and persecuting spirit of Philip were intolerable to his own Catholic subjects, who were driven into rebellion by them.

But Mary's zeal out-ran the worldly considerations of policy; preparatory steps (as we have seen) had been already taken; and on Feb. 4, *somewhat less than one year and seven months* after the death of her Brother, the dreadful tragedy of public character would admit; especially after having been suspected of Heresy himself.

(1) Vol. i. p. 355.

(2) Father Paul. lib. v. p. 400.

Burning commenced in the person of Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's. (1) This execution was followed by Bishop Hooper's and all the rest in a melancholy succession. "It is computed (says Hume) that in the course of three years 277 persons suffered *by fire*, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among the persons, who suffered by fire, were 5 Bishops, 21 Clergymen, 8 Lay Gentlemen, 84 Tradesmen, 100 Husbandmen, Servants, and Labourers, 55 Women and 4 Children." (2) Some of these, as Cranmer

(1) Vol. i. p. 355. "At [Mary's] coming to the Crown and for *almost two years afterwards*, whilst she declared herself openly in favour of the ancient religion, she as openly disclaimed every degree of force or violence against those, who professed and practised any of the later systems."

(2) Hume. vol. iv. p. 448. 8vo. I conclude this list is correct from its particularity. [It is taken (as Mr. M. says Ans. p. 89) from Fox's Book of Martyrs, against which he inveighs most violently, and in his History (Vol. i. p. 357) calls it 'a tissue of falsehood, misrepresentation, and absurdity.' Whether the Book deserves all this, or not, I profess myself ignorant, having never read a page of it in my life.]

who was under sentence for treason, and Ridley who had preached in support of Lady Jane Gray's title, might have suffered as traitors; but Mary, who was a persecutor by choice, preferred burning a Heretic to beheading a Traitor, an *Act of Faith* to a *Civil Execution*. The more considerable of those who suffered were persons selected for their virtues, (putting Religion out of the question,) most eminent for learning, and high in the esteem and affection of the country; that the terror of these examples might operate more strongly, and extend more widely. And the cruel punishment thus inflicted was aggravated (if it could be aggravated) by every kind of insult and brutality. (1)

An end however was put to these horrors

(1) Heretics were searched for and convicted by measures similar to those of the Inquisition, which indeed was in some degree established by a Commission of 21 persons issued by the authority of the Queen's prerogative for the more effectual extirpation of Heresy. 1555. See the Commission in Burnet. Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. coll. 32.

by the death of Mary, after a short and inglorious reign, for the disgraces and cruelties of which her memory has been treated by posterity with the detestation it deserved. Elizabeth's critical situation at the time of her accession to the crown and throughout her reign, with respect to the designs carried on against her both within and without her kingdom by the partisans of Popery, has been already represented. Let us see, what was her conduct, and what the precautions she took against this dangerous and persevering hostility.

The first acts of her Parliament were to repeal the laws passed in the late reign for the restoration of Popery, and to revive those of Henry VIII and Edward VI, by which the Protestant Religion had been established. Persons in office and the Clergy were all obliged to take the Oath of the Queen's Supremacy; maintaining the Pope's Supremacy, or acting for it, was made penal, and in the third instance Treason. (1) In this Parliament no person was

(1) 1 Eliz. c. i.

attainted, but on the contrary some restored in blood. On the oath of Supremacy being tendered, 13 Bishops out of 14, (the whole number at that time remaining,) 12 Deans, 12 Archdeacons, 15 Heads of Colleges, 50 Prebendaries, and 80 Parochial Clergy quitted their preferments. The 5th of Elizabeth, c. 1. was still more severe against those, who should assert the Pope's authority by *writing, word, or deed*. By the 13th, c. 1. 'it was made treason to call her title in question; or to affirm, that she was a Heretic, Schismatic, or Infidel; or that the Laws and Statutes cannot limit the descent of the Crown. To maintain also, that any person except the natural issue of her body is or ought to be her successor, was subjected to severe penalties.' This law was evidently levelled against the Queen of Scots and her partisans. Penalties were also inflicted on those, who imported Crucifixes, &c. into the kingdom. The 23d of Elizabeth, c. 1. imposed more severe penalties on Catholics; saying and hearing Mass was made punishable by fine and

and imprisonment. Some treasonable practices of Romish Priests had been lately discovered; and about this time the hostile seminaries of Rheims and Douay were instituted. Laws still more severe were passed in the Parliament of her 27th year; and the exercise of the Catholic Religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed.' "The Catholics therefore (says Hume) might now justly complain of a very violent persecution; which we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigoted principles of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established Government and Religion." (1) This however was in consequence of many Conspiracies, 'imputed with great appearance of reason to the contrivances of the Queen of Scots,' or at least carried on under her name.

(1) Hume. vol. v. 204.

Such nearly were the internal precautions taken by Elizabeth for the security of her Person and Government. They were undoubtedly severe in the extreme. But at the same time the dangers, with which she was threatened, were extreme also. What other measures, or what *degree* of severity, would have been sufficient to protect her, it is very difficult to decide. It appears however, that these severe measures were not taken at once, but adopted, as different occasions (whether adequate or not) suggested. She was surrounded with foreign and domestic enemies, and every attempt directed against her was carried on under the avowed patronage and sanction of the Church of Rome; so that in every instance the Catholic Religion was directly or indirectly concerned. (1)

To these considerations must be added, that, if in consequence of her severe laws many unhappy persons were put to death,

(1) Her severest Law was not passed till the 27th year of her reign.

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it was not to a death of torture by fire. And many of these unfortunate sufferers came into the country from Flanders, knowing the punishments to which by the Laws they were exposed, but prompted to incur the risk by zeal for their Religion.

I do not perceive, that Mr. M. has given the number of sufferers in Queen Mary's reign. It appears before, that 277 persons suffered in it by fire. He does state the number of those, who were put to death for the Profession of the Catholic Religion in Elizabeth's reign at about 200; but he does not give his authority, (1) or at least not such authority as we have access to. Mary put to death by fire (for there is a difference even in the manner of death) 277 persons in three years, or taking her whole

(1) Vol. i. p. 385. [Mr. M. now says 204. Ans. p. 91. I have struck out the citation from Camden mentioning a supposed publication of the Secular Priests in England against the Jesuits; because on consideration I thought it bore marks of improbability. Let it only be observed; that, if it contained misrepresentation, this was Camden's, not mine.]

reign in less than five years and a half; Elizabeth during above 44 years executed by Mr. M.'s account *about* 200.

Having given therefore this detail, and mentioned the particular events, which gave occasion to Elizabeth's severe Laws in the different periods of her reign, I shall leave You or any other reader to draw the conclusion; to balance (according to Mr. M.'s expression) the account, and to determine the comparative demerits of Popery and Protestantism, as exemplified in Mary's and Elizabeth's persecution. Let it be observed moreover, that nobody suffered for any thing done in the preceding reign; and that even the brutal and sanguinary Bonner was suffered to end his days in obscurity and contempt. (1)

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(1) [Mr. M. having accused me of much inaccuracy and misrepresentation in my account of the transactions of Queen Elizabeth's reign, as far as they related to my subject, I think it necessary to state very shortly the following particulars.—Most of the inaccuracies, which he has remarked, I have corrected; and they do not at all affect the question between us.—

My

I cannot quit the subject of our Reformation without saying a few words on the characters

My object in this part of my book (besides its general object) was to shew, 'that Elizabeth's severe treatment of the Catholics arose from a *degree of political necessity*, and was not comparable in its criminality to Queen Mary's treatment of the Protestants, whom she used much more cruelly, not being under the same *necessity*.—For this purpose I mentioned *notorious facts* related by all Historians, Conspiracies, the Spanish War, Papal Bulls of Excommunication, &c. and stated, that all the attempts against Elizabeth's person and government were made *under the encouragement, sanction, and authority of the Roman See*. It was not within the compass of my work to enter into a detail of the Conspiracies, still less of the much disputed history of the unfortunate Queen of Scots; but I observed, that Mary, while she resided in France with her Husband Francis II, had actually assumed the Title of Queen of England, &c. and that her elevation to the throne and the restoration of the Roman Catholic Religion in England were considered, as events that must take place together. Every attempt therefore to accomplish the one was alike directed to the accomplishment of the other.—A combination of all the Catholic Powers in Europe, which may be dated from the Meeting at Bayonne in 1565, to extirpate the Protestant Religion, had for its immediate object the destruction of Elizabeth, who was the principal supporter

characters of some of the persons principally concerned in it.

Wyckliff supporter of that Religion; and produced the famous invasion of her kingdom by Philip II at that time the most powerful Prince in Europe.—That she did not have recourse to severe measures *by choice*, appears from her not employing them in the earlier part of her reign, and not in their extreme severity, till continual dangers to her person and government had provoked it.—Three successive Popes excommunicated, deposed her, and absolved her subjects from their Allegiance. The bulk of the English Catholics did indeed (much to their honor) pay little or no regard to these Bulls. But can we suppose, that this was universally the case even here? Was it so with the Catholics of other countries, both Princes and People? Were Pius V, Julius III, and Sixtus V, (especially the last) men, who had so little common sense, as to employ a weapon, which they knew to be ineffectual—*telum imbelles sine ictu*? A weapon, which they knew, and their people knew, they had no power to use? No certainly. They used it *repeatedly* as a formidable weapon, from which they expected considerable effects. For how can the generality of Catholics (and Protestants still less) enter into nice distinctions about the power of Popes, professing themselves *Infallible*, the limits of which depend on theological or scholastic reasonings, and about which the greatest casuists of their own Church are not agreed? The truth is, that the Popes
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Wyckliff led the way to the English Reformation, and by his opinions and writings began to dispell the darkness, in which the Religion of this country was involved. His name became of course odious in the highest degree to the partisans of the Doctrines and Jurisdiction of the Roman See; all his opinions adverse to these were formally condemned, and the Council of Constance executed a sort of impotent vengeance on him by ordering his bones to

had always *assumed* such power in its utmost extent, had continually *exercised* it, and that it had often (especially in earlier times) produced the most dreadful effects.—I have inferred therefore truly, ‘that Elizabeth was justified in using precautions of great rigor against the attempts of the Catholics; though I do not say, that these were not carried to an extreme.’—I am much disposed to think well of my Countrymen, the English Catholics, both in the past times and the present; but I do not think well of a Church, the heads of which have employed their *spiritual* power in deposing Princes, and absolving Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance; and I conclude with confidence, ‘that the Principles of such a Church, when carried to their utmost extent, are pernicious to Governments and destructive of Civil Society.’]

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be dug up many years after his death from the place of his interment; after which they were burnt. Nothing is more natural, than to suppose, that there might be some mixture of what was exceptionable among these opinions, (1) considering the early period in which he lived, the unimproved state of all religious and useful learning, and the newness of the ground on which he stood against such a host of formidable adversaries. But the vigor of his mind in seizing the great principles, on which the Reformation in its maturer state afterwards

(1) Vol. i. p. 296. note (3). Mr. M. takes care to select these for our notice. [Fuller observes in his Church-History, 'that all Wyckliff's Books being burnt we have the account of his Opinions only through the medium of his adversaries; by whom they are probably represented partially and unfavorably.' I have no doubt however of this early Reformer through his zeal against the gross corruptions, which he combated, carrying many of his Opinions to an unwarrantable extreme. See Ans. p. 70. Concerning Wyckliff's Doctrines and the Calumnies, with which he was loaded, see Allix in the work before cited c. 23 and 24.]

proceeded,

proceeded, and the courage, with which he dared at that time to maintain them, place him in the highest rank of merit among the Reformers, and intitle him to the respect and gratitude of all Protestant posterity.

Luther and Erasmus are names so connected with the Reformation, that, although they did not belong to this country, in speaking of these transactions, it is almost impossible to pass them by in silence.

It required a degree of perseverance and intrepidity not less than that, of which Luther was possessed, to make him engage in the arduous contest, to support him throughout its continuance, and finally to give him such success in it, as to carry off from the allegiance of Rome either under his own immediate standard, or that of the Allies connected with him by a common cause, so large a proportion of her subjects. For to him must be in great measure attributed all the branches of the Reformation, which spread over the different parts of Europe, after he had first planted it in Germany.

many. A wonderful achievement this for a private German Monk; and an instance among many others with what inconsiderable and apparently inadequate instruments the most important purposes of Providence are accomplished. Luther was in his manners and writings coarse, presuming, and impetuous; (1) but these were qualities allied to those, which alone made him capable of supporting well the extraordinary character in which he appeared. I have always been struck with his translating the whole Bible into German, (which is a classical book in that language, and has I believe as a translation maintained high credit down to later times) as a singular proof of learning and ability. Whoever well considers the difficulty of *one man's* executing

(1) [Luther's scurrility arose not only from the violence of his temper, (see Ans. p. 106.) but from the rude manners of the age and country in which he lived. The language, which passed between Erasmus and the Monks his opponents, would disgust readers of the present time. In this respect at least we are improved.]

such

such a work at a period, when the knowledge of the original languages was rare, and the assistances of sacred criticism and literature (which have been since so much multiplied) were inconsiderable and scanty, will probably be inclined to agree with me in this opinion.

Nothing could be more different from Luther's character, than that of Erasmus; who was *equally sensible with him* of the abuses and superstitions of the Roman Church. No man could expose them better by serious reasoning or elegant raillery. Of the external forms of monastic devotion none had a more perfect contempt. But he had not Luther's intrepidity to avow his opinions, and to support them. Let us not however be too ready to blame him for not being willing to encounter dangers, which were sufficient to impress terror on the stoutest heart; but be grateful to him for the service done to true Christianity by the just conceptions of it expressed in his writings, for his early editions of the New Testament and his labors on it, which are

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still

still consulted and read with utility and pleasure, and for his general merits to Literature at large. To him from his abundant erudition, from his good taste, and the captivating pleasantness of his style alike removed from barbarism and pedantry, and from that amenity of genius which rendered every subject he treated agreeable, was Literature more indebted, than to any other person in the whole list of illustrious Scholars, who flourished on its revival. (1)

It is impossible to see without the most poignant indignation such men as Fisher and More sacrificed to the passions of their tyrannical and capricious Master; and for the crime of maintaining the Supremacy of the Pope, which a few years ago he himself and all his people were ready to maintain. Both were in their respective situa-

(1) "At length Erasmus, that great injur'd name,
The glory of the Priesthood and the shame,
Stemm'd the wild torrent of a barb'rous age,
And drove those holy Vandals off the stage."

Pope. Ess. on Crit. 693.

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tions in the highest degree respectable; both had merited a considerable share of the King's affection and esteem; yet were these men brought to the scaffold, and for their adherence to their religious opinions suffered death as criminals. They met it with all the fortitude, that innocence and religion could inspire. More preserved not only his serenity, but even his pleasantry, to the last. Fisher's fate was accelerated by the ill-judged reward, which the Pope conferred on him for the opposition he gave to Henry's innovations.

Of the other party, the characters of the Bishops, who suffered under Mary, were all such, as to excite among those, who favored the Reformation, the greatest horror and commiseration. They were all men of integrity and virtue. Hooper seems to have had about him a certain superstitious narrowness of mind, which gave to ceremonies and vestments a degree of importance, which they did not deserve. Ridley was able and active in the conduct of Ecclesiastical affairs. And Latimer pos-

sessed perfect simplicity and honesty, without perhaps much prudence or judgement to direct them. But Cranmer had been the King's principal Minister in what related to the Church. The high station, which he held in it, had been pressed on him; he had accepted it after much repugnance. His temper was better fitted for literature and study, than for the collisions of politics and the faction of courts. Placed however in that post of eminence, being fully impressed with the invalidity of all the Papal pretensions and with the abuses of the Roman Church, knowing also the discordance of many of its doctrines with sound reason and true Christianity, he had uniformly forwarded all the measures tending to promote the Reformation. And though its advance was continually checked by Henry's prejudices and caprice, yet in all these changes, so fatal to many of his subjects, Cranmer's virtues were respected, and the King's protection was never withdrawn from him. The Archbishop was sincere in his religious opinions, and wished to propagate

pagate them without force. He was therefore always an adviser of gradual changes, and averse from those which were sudden and violent. But he was subject to an imperious Master; and amidst the conflict of contending parties it was difficult to recommend moderation with success, or to escape himself with impunity. During the reign of Edward, the Reformation advanced under his auspices with a more uniform and steady pace. On the accession of Mary, the share he had in her Mother's divorce, and the eminent part he bore in the separation, which took place with the See of Rome, naturally pointed him out as the principal object of her bigotry and revenge. As such he was treated; for being destined to the most cruel death, he was by a refinement in cruelty induced by persuasion and terror to retract his opinions, not in order that his life might be spared, but that infamy might be added to his death. He amply atoned however for this weakness (1) by

(1) [It appears, that he signed several forms of recantation. (Ans. p. 124.) He was certainly induced to

by himself condemning it, and by supporting with undaunted constancy the torments under which he expired. Whoever well considers himself, and what his own feelings would be in such a dreadful situation, will not be disposed to judge too rigorously of men exposed to the severest trials, that human nature can endure. (1)

this by the fear of the dreadful death, which awaited him. We may admire inflexible constancy; but it becomes very few of us to insult such weakness.]

(1) See note (1) p. 145.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

On the subsequent Transactions respecting Religion and Government, particularly the Revolution of 1688.

WE have seen, that during the whole reign of Elizabeth a continual war was carried on against her Government and the Protestant Religion, as finally established by her in this country, by the principal Catholic powers of Europe in concert with the more zealous part of her own Catholic subjects; that all the attempts made against her were professedly on the ground of Religion, and had therefore every encouragement and sanction from the See of Rome. It was understood, that the re-establishment of Popery would follow, as an immediate consequence, the subversion of Elizabeth's Government.

M. 4

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From hence then the existence of our Civil Government became inseparably connected with that of our Religious Establishment, especially as opposed to Popery. The connection has been a happy one, and has contributed to their mutual security.

The Catholics had flattered themselves, not unreasonably, that they should be treated with more indulgence by the Son of the unfortunate Mary, who had been the idol of their party, the presumptive Sovereign of their wishes, and who had perished herself, and been (whether designedly or not) the occasion of many others perishing in what was thought a religious cause. They were severely disappointed on finding, that their situation was not likely to be materially improved; that the same laws would remain in force and continue to be as rigorously executed, and themselves regarded with the same jealous eye as dangerous and hostile to the Civil Government. This would naturally excite indignation, and stimulate religious zeal; which broke out in one of the most extraordinary and daring attempts, that the mind of man
ever

ever conceived; no less, than the instantaneous and complete destruction of the King with the Royal Family and of the whole Parliament, by springing a mine under the place where they were to be assembled. From hence this conspiracy has been called the Gunpowder Treason; the particulars of which, with the manner of its discovery and its consequences to the persons concerned, are well known, and are established with as much certainty, as any fact recorded in the history of this or any other country. But the design was so atrocious as well as new, the mischief proposed was so sudden, so prodigious, and so extensive, it shocked so much all the common feelings of mankind, that Catholic writers have been at great pains either to call its reality in question, or to attribute it to any motive rather than the true one; a fanatic religious zeal, which in the pursuit of its object extinguishes every moral principle, and sanctifies every crime. (1)

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Vol. 1. 391. note (6.) Mr. M. ascribes it to Cecil; Philips I believe in the life of Cardinal Pole (a work like

It was not likely, that after such an attempt, which was thus defeated, the Catholics

like Mr. M.'s meant for an apology for Popery under that title) disputes its reality. This was at the time satisfactorily answered. The concurrent account of contemporary authors, (amongst whom I would particularly refer to Thuanus, who has given a very exact and detailed account of this transaction) the public records of the times, the trials that followed, and the confessions of the criminals put the matter beyond all doubt.—Its atrocity may be supposed to render it scarcely credible. But is it more atrocious *in extent of destruction*, than the Massacre of the Hugonots about 30 years before at Paris and throughout France, which had the approbation of a Pope? Or more atrocious *in principle*, than the assassination of Henry III in 1589 and that of Henry IV in 1610, both avowedly instigated, defended, and applauded by Ecclesiastics. Thuanus does indeed think, that it exceeded in atrocity all other conspiracies, for he thus concludes his account of it. “Hunc exitum habuit conjuratio omnium, quæ nostri et prisce ævi temporibus memorantur, consilio, audacia, immanitate maxime admiranda. Nam fando ubique acceptum et fama ad posteros transmissum, multos principes fraude cæsos, respublicas insidiis petitas fuisse; at nulla tellus, nulla ætas *tale conspirationis monstrum* unquam aluit, in qua Rex cum Regina, Parentes cum omni sobole, Ordines totius Regni, totum

tholics could hope for any relaxation of the laws in their favor or any amendment of

tum denique Regnum, et in eo innumeri innocentes, ut paucorum furiosorum libidini litaretur, uni exitio uno momento destinabantur." Lib. cxxxv. c. vii.

It is much to be wished, that the religious Commemoration of some political events, highly important to this Country, had been originally limited to a certain number of years. Though our ancestors, at or near the times when they happened, felt deeply interested about them, the feelings of posterity by degrees abate, and grow too languid for those expressions of thankfulness or humiliation, which such occasions when recent suggested. The apparent magnitude of objects becomes contracted in proportion to the distance we recede from them, and at length is evanescent. But, independently of this reason arising from our nature, it is surely improper, after having given Toleration to the Catholics, treating them no longer as enemies, but embracing them as friends, to continue a religious service, which tends to perpetuate antient animosity.— A most respectable friend has suggested to me; 'that a certain State of antient Greece erected a Trophy, in memory of a victory, made of more durable materials, than had usually been employed; for which they were justly condemned by other States, as shewing a malignant disposition to keep up the memory of quarrels and hostilities.'

their

their public situation; but on the contrary had reason to expect still more severe restraints and heavier disabilities. The King indeed was himself more disposed to moderation, which became unpopular with the nation at large. They thought no measures were to be kept with such enemies; and began to grow suspicious, that the Court was disposed to treat the Papists with undue indulgence, because it did not appear to feel the same degree of animosity against them with themselves.

This suspicion continued, and acquired additional strength in the succeeding reign, when great part of the nation from the prevalence of Puritanism grew outrageous in their dislike and fears of Popery; and Charles's marriage with a French Princess constantly gave credibility and countenance to this supposed partiality. The King, though sincerely attached to the Church of England, yet from the moderation of his own temper, from the influence of his connection with France, and his hatred of the Puritans, who every day grew more obnoxious

ous to him, was disposed to render the situation of the Catholics less painful, and not to give the severe laws, with which they were encompassed, their full effect. And no circumstance proved more unfortunate to Charles than this during the course of his unfortunate reign. His predilection for Popery was an accusation always at hand, always ready to be believed, always sufficient to set the nation in a flame, and especially to render him and his Queen personally odious.

No degree of moderation or indulgence towards the Papists could be expected from that party, which in the course of events became predominant, whose professed hatred of Popery in an extreme degree was one of its distinguishing characters; and who destroyed the Church of England, because it was thought to resemble too much that of Rome. In those unhappy times the Catholics attached themselves to the royal cause, for which they performed great and faithful services; but this very attachment of their's served to render the King still more odious
to

to the greater part of the nation, and to sharpen the malignity of his implacable enemies.

It is not to my present purpose to dwell on the fatal issue of the Civil War, on the murder of the King, and on the subversion of the Constitution in Church and State. After these convulsions had ceased, and the Restoration of the Royal Family and Government had apparently put things on their former footing, there remained a latent circumstance, pregnant with mischief to the Nation and to the Royal Family itself; the conversion of the Princes, Charles II and the Duke of York, to the Roman Catholic Religion. This was the consequence of their exile, which they had chiefly passed in France; it was the Religion of the country; their Mother was devoted to it; zealous Priests were not wanting to take advantage of such circumstances, and to have the merit of making such proselytes. The result was what might have been expected; and it unfortunately happened, that they not only in this interval imbibed

imbibed religious principles, which in some measure disqualified them from ever governing this country with satisfaction to themselves, and with the affection of their subjects, but also contracted prejudices in favor of Absolute Power, such as they saw exercised by the French Government, so flattering to the human mind, and so congenial with the former high pretensions of their own family.

Under the influence of such religious and political prepossessions was Charles, when he was restored to the throne of his ancestors. But so great was the joy of the nation at recovering its antient government, and so sanguine were they in their expectations of public happiness under their restored Monarch, that they readmitted him with open arms, almost unconditionally, and had not the prudence to guard against the return of the same evils they had so lately experienced by fixing more exact boundaries to the Prerogative of the Crown and the Liberty of the People. The King's Religion was of course concealed;
it

it would have been sufficient to put a negative on his Restoration.

But it was not long, that these flattering prospects lasted in their full brightness. The King's levity and love of pleasure, his general want of principle, and (as far as any religion could have any hold on his mind) his attachment to the Church of Rome, the profligacy of some of his Ministers, and the connections which he formed with France (connections incompatible with the religious and political interests of his kingdoms) destroyed by degrees the confidence of the nation, awakened all their old apprehensions for the safety of their Religion and of the free Constitution connected with it, and made great part of his reign a continual state of domestic warfare between him and his subjects.

Lewis XIV was to Europe in the 17th what Philip II had been in the 16th century; a Prince, who from the magnitude of his power and his undisguised ambition threatened the independence of other nations, who professed great zeal for the Church

Church of Rome, assumed the character of its protector, and afterwards carried on a most cruel persecution against his own Protestant subjects. It was no wonder, that Charles's forming an intimate connection with this Prince in opposition to all the apparent interests of his Kingdom, joined to its being now known, that the Duke of York the presumptive Heir of the Crown was a bigoted Catholic, should occasion the most serious alarm to all who were friends to the Religion and Liberty of their Country. This produced on both sides all the violences of party rage; by the Exclusion Bill an attempt was made to prevent James's succession to the Crown, a strong measure, which nothing but imminent danger to the country could justify; plots also, real and pretended, disturbed and disgraced all the latter part of Charles's reign.

The alarm however, entertained by great part of the nation for their Religion and Liberty, was by no means without foundation; and the dangers, to which these

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were

were exposed by the designs of the Court, are now known with certainty from documents, which till late years were not accessible. It is now known, that Charles formed a secret alliance with Lewis about 1670, by which Lewis engaged to give him 200,000*l.* to enable him to settle the Catholic Religion in England, and to supply him with 6000 men in case of any insurrection; (1) and in 1681 he promised Charles a pension of 2,000,000 livres for one year and 500,000 crowns per ann. for two more, to prevent his being under the necessity of having recourse to Parliament. (2) James's own conduct after he became King is the best justification of the Exclusion Bill.

It appears then that throughout Charles's reign the Roman Catholic Religion was

(1) See additional note of Hume, c. lxi. near the beginning, which is not in the early editions of his History, from *James the II^d's Memoirs*, communicated to him by the Principal of the Scots College at Paris.

(2) See also another additional note from Barillon's Letters in the *Depôt des Affaires etrangeres* at Versailles, c. lxi. For both these secret Treaties, see also Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, Vol. i. p. 30. and 70. with original Letters in the Appendix confirming this account of them.

considered

considered (and justly) as inimical to the Civil Constitution; any attempt to impose the one carried with it a determined aggression on the other. This will account for the additional laws passed against Popery in this reign, such as the Corporation and Test Acts, and the exclusion of Papists from either House of Parliament.

On the mind of Charles his religion had *some* influence; but it was subordinate to his pleasures, to his ease, to the politics of the moment. In James it was predominant, and possessed his mind; or at least divided it with the love of Power. Power however seemed not to be the principal object, and was subservient but necessary to Religion. For James well knew, that it would be impossible to make Popery the prevailing Religion of his kingdom without acquiring a degree of power, much greater than the Constitution, as he received it, allowed; a degree of power indeed little short of *absolute*. He had seen all the convulsions occasioned in his Brother's reign by the apprehensions of Popery, by

the suspicion of its being favored by the King and his Ministers, and countenanced by the French alliance; he had felt the danger of being himself excluded from the Crown by an act of the Legislature on this very account; and a rampart of accumulated Laws had been erected, which forbade the most distant approaches of Popery, and was ready to repel them.

Notwithstanding all this James was not discouraged; to his zeal these difficulties did not appear too great to be surmounted; and he proceeded in his design with a degree of impatience and precipitancy, inexcusable in point of policy, and therefore disapproved by those who most wished its success. Even the Pope and the Spanish Ambassador interposed in vain with their advice for more cautious and prudent measures.

To the Pope he immediately sent an agent to make his submission, and to pave the way for a solemn readmission of England into the bosom of the Catholic Church; and two years afterwards an Ambassador went

went to Rome in due form and with great ceremony for the same purpose. He immediately had Mass celebrated publicly in his own chapel; and afterwards gave a Nuncio, sent by the Pope in return for his embassy, a public reception at Windsor. Four Catholic Bishops were consecrated in his chapel, and sent out under the title of Vicars Apostolical to exercise the episcopal functions in their respective dioceses. The Popish regular Clergy appeared at Court in the habits of their orders; and were so indiscreet as to boast, that in a little time they hoped to walk in procession through the capital.

These measures were all of them a direct and open violation of the existing Laws; it was the same as a declaration to his subjects, that he did not take *them* for the rule of his government; though, like his predecessor Mary, he had at first promised to observe them, and professed his resolution to maintain the established Constitution both in Church and State.

But there were other proofs of the small

regard he meant to pay to the Laws of his kingdom still less equivocal. He levied his annual revenue before it was granted by Parliament; and held on that subject the high language of authority, not that of excuse or conciliation. In order to punish the Bishop of London, (1) who had displeased him on the score of Popery, he issued an Ecclesiastical Commission, a sort of jurisdiction, considered as the most dangerous to liberty, and expressly abolished together with the Star-chamber by Act of Parliament in the 16th year of Charles I. (2) And in order to employ Catholics in his army and other offices of Government, he scrupled not to tell his Parliament, that he had *dispensed* with the Law, by which they were disqualified, and to the infringement of which severe penalties were annexed. Afterwards also, in defiance of the same Law, he pub-

(1) Compton.

(2) 'The weak and illegal attempt to revive the *High Commission* Court, during the reign of James II, served to hasten that infatuated Prince's ruin.' Blackstone, Com. B. 3. ch. 5.

lished his Declarations of Indulgence, the critical acts, by which his destiny was determined; after having seen, that his Brother had been twice (in 1662 and 1672) compelled by his Parliament to retract (and with some disgrace) a similar measure.

The *Dispensing Power* had (it is true) been exercised by the Crown during a long course of time and on many occasions. But these occasions had chiefly been some relaxation of penalties, or acts of favor to individuals, in which no great national interests were involved; and this exertion of Prerogative had passed unnoticed, had been submitted to, or allowed, with many other inconsistencies in the imperfect and rude state of the English Government. When however Regal Power and Popular Liberty were more accurately defined, when Laws were made to restrain these within strict bounds, and especially to protect the Subject from the undue authority of the Crown, it is obvious, that a *Dispensing Power* employed to defeat these very purposes is absurd on the face of it. All Laws in fa-

vor of Liberty are nugatory, if a King can by his word suspend their effect. There would be no longer any real difference between Absolute and Limited Monarchy. All that our ancestors obtained from Charles I would go for nothing, and even the rudiments of Liberty contained in Magna Charta would be obliterated. The Lawyers of the time, those who meant to act honestly, might from a narrow professional view of the subject be puzzled with the authority of precedents, and not know where to draw the line ; but the good sense of the nation at large saw plainly, that a Dispensing Power (especially if extended to great national points) in a Limited Government was an absurdity ; and that, if the first was allowed, the last must be abandoned. In practice they decided accordingly.

The unreasonable doctrine too, maintained by most of the Clergy, of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance (carried as it had been to an extreme) proved alike ineffectual, when wanted for use and applied to

to real circumstances. (1) That Obedience to Civil Government is a moral duty, that it is a duty expressly enjoined in Scripture, there is no doubt; but Scripture does not prescribe the particular Form of Government (2) to be obeyed, nor the exact measures of this Obedience. It does, as in other cases, give a *general* rule, and leaves the application in each *particular* instance to the good sense and virtue of individuals. It is plain, that Passive Obedience, admitted fully and indiscriminately, must equalise all

(1) It is remarkable, that this doctrine, (which was carried so far in *theory* by the University of Oxford in its famous and disgraceful Decree of 1683) should be refuted in *practice*, almost in the first instance, and only four years afterwards, by the spirited conduct of one of its own Societies.

(2) St. Peter. 1. ii. 13, 17. exhorts the Christians to whom he writes, 'to submit themselves to the *King* as supreme, and to honor the *King*;' that was the *Roman Emperor* for the time being, the Head of a Military Government carried on under the forms of a Republic. It is hardly possible to conceive two political personages, designated by the common character of sovereign power, more unlike, than *such an Emperor* and a *Constitutional English Monarch*.

Governments.

Governments. Limitations are empty words, if, when *Governors* exceed them, the *Governed* have nothing to do but to submit. An appeal to the *Laws* against authority *illegally* exerted is not only justifiable, but meritorious; an appeal to *force* can only be justified, where *Laws* are no longer of any avail; a case, which *they* cannot suppose, and which amounts to a dissolution of Society. The resistance to the illegal measures of James's government began from the Clergy, that body of men, from whom it was least to be expected. Political or religious opinions, contrary to reason and common sense, are best disproved by the true criterion of practice; in which an appeal is made to the common feelings of mankind. (1)

The

(1) Swift, though a thorough party-man, had too much good sense not to see the absurdity of this doctrine, as it was then maintained. "Many of the Clergy, (says he) and other learned men, mistook the object, to which *Passive Obedience* was due. By the *Supreme Magistrate* is properly understood the *Legislative Power*, which in all Governments must be *absolute* and

The Suspension of the penal Laws by the Declaration of Indulgence concerned the whole kingdom; but there was a transaction (as you well know) of a less public nature, by which one Society only was

and unlimited. But the word *Magistrate* seeming to denote a *single* person and to express the *executive Power*, it came to pass, that the obedience due to the *Legislature* was, for want of knowing or considering this easy distinction, misapplied to the *Administration*."

Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man. 1708.

Swift certainly pays no great compliment to the understanding of the Clergy and other learned men, to whom he refers, in attributing this *mistake* to them; but he expresses in this passage with accuracy the *just idea of Government*.

Absolute and unlimited Power must reside somewhere; it in fact resides in the *Legislature* of every Country. Governments differ from one another, not in their *Power*, but in the *mode* of its existence. Whether for instance it be placed in the hands of *one* person or *many*; if the latter, whether they are such as have a *common interest* with the *People* or *not*. A *Legislature* may act wrong *morally* or *prudentially*, but not *politically*. In its political capacity therefore it has complete *Competence* for *every* act that can affect the country, over which it presides.

immediately

immediately affected, that exhibited in the strongest light not only the bigotry of James, but his violence and injustice; I mean the attack on Magdalen College, Oxford. With all the particulars of this transaction you are of course better acquainted than myself, and to you they must be particularly interesting; especially as the Members of your College by their firm and spirited conduct contributed in no small degree to fix the public opinion of James's character, and to encourage that resistance to his invasions of legal rights and general liberty, of which they set so good an example in their own particular case. (1)

But

(1) The principal circumstances of this transaction are briefly, as follow. On a vacancy in the Presidentship of that College, the King by his Mandate required the Fellows to elect for their President one Farmer, a new convert to Popery, ineligible in other respects by the Statutes; and, as it afterwards appeared, a man of immoral and profligate character. The Fellows, after making submissive application to the King to recall his Mandate and receiving no answer, proceeded to the Election on the appointed day, and

But to return to the Declaration of Indulgence. Was it a pure spirit of Toleration,

and chose Dr. Hough, a person not only in all respects properly qualified, but of great firmness and singular merit. An Ecclesiastical Commission was sent down to punish the College for their contumacy. The nomination of Farmer was too disgraceful to be supported even by those Commissioners; and Parker, Bishop of Oxford, not yet a convert but ready to become so, ineligible also by the Statutes, was imposed on them in his place. The College resisted this appointment, and stood on their rights. For this the President and Fellows, except two, who complied, were expelled; and Parker was put in possession of the office.

“Afterwards, when the King had certain intelligence of the Prince of Orange’s design viz. Oct. 12, 1688, he ordered the Bishop of Winchester, Visitor of Magdalen College, to settle that Society regularly and statutably. Accordingly Oct. 16. the Bishop of Winchester caused a Citation to be fixed on the Gate of the College to recall Dr. Hough and the former Fellows of that Society by the 2d of November following; but, an account coming that part of the Prince of Orange’s Fleet being disabled by a storm, the Bishop was recalled to London, and the restoration of the College put off. But when it appeared, that the

a regard for the liberty of conscience, that prompted James to issue it? Had he a regard

the Fleet was ready to sail again, then the business of the College was resumed, and effected November 24." State Trials. Vol. iv. p. 278.

In note (6) vol. i. p. 439, Mr. M. justifying James in this transaction, among other things says, "He only claimed his right of naming to *all Ecclesiastical Livings, small as well as great*, in favor of those whom he chose to reward; a right, which the records of Colleges will prove to have been claimed and exercised by Kings of the Brunswick line, no less, than by those of more ancient date, in defiance of the same objections, that were urged by the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to defeat the King's nomination, first of Farmer, and then of Parker Bishop of Oxford."

I should be glad to be informed by Mr. M. of *any* King, that *ever* claimed the right of naming to *all Ecclesiastical Livings, small as well as great*; and particularly of Kings of the Brunswick line, following this precedent of James.

[Mr. M. has indeed produced many instances of Royal interference with Colleges in the two Universities (Ans. p. 195.) from the reign of Henry VIII to that of Charles I. Whatever opinion may be formed of the *legality* of such authoritative interference before the abolition of the *High Commission Court* by Stat.

gard for *any* sort of liberty? Was a man passionately devoted to the *most intolerant* Religion,

Stat. 16. Ch. 1. c. 11. there can be no doubt of its illegality afterwards.

But Mr. M. has found an instance of one such interference since the accession of the House of Brunswick. His account is as follows. Ans. p. 201.

“When the duke of Newcastle was secretary of state, I think it was in the year 1726, John Trenchard Broomfield obtained a royal mandate for a fellowship in Wykeham’s college of Winchester, to the great displeasure of the Warden and Fellows, who opposed his nomination. In the expostulation, which they made on this occasion, they recurred to the same arguments that had been employed in the contest at Magdalen college; and, in particular, they endeavoured to discredit the practice of mandamus’s, as having been a reproach to the reigns of Charles II and James II; though in fact these princes, as we have seen, made much less use of them than most of their immediate predecessors. In conclusion, the duke of Newcastle writes for answer, that as the Society disputed his Majesty’s right to make the nomination in question, his Attorney-General must settle the business with them. I need not add, that Mr. Trenchard Broomfield obtained his fellowship.” The reader will judge of the accuracy of this account from the following authentic communication, with which Dr. Huntingford, the Warden of Winchester College, has favored me.

Copy

Religion, become at once the real patron of Toleration? The imposition was too gross; all

“ Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Electors.

George R.

Trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well.

Having been informed of the hopeful parts of John Trenchard Bromfield, and humble suit having been made unto Us on his behalf; We have thought fit hereby to recommend him to You in the most effectual manner; Willing and Requiring you to elect and admit the said John Trenchard Bromfield a Child of that Our College of Winchester at the next Election. And so not doubting of your compliance herein, We bid you heartily Farewell.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the twenty ninth day of April, and in the twelfth year of our Reign. A. D. 1726.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Wardens and others the Electors of New College in Our University of Oxford, and of Our College near Winchester.

Answer.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the Wardens and others the Electors of New College and the College near Winchester. ‘ May it please your Majesty.

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Wardens of New College in your Majesty's University

all the world saw it; and James by his whole

iversity of Oxford, and of the College near Winchester, in behalf of ourselves and others the Electors of these Your Majesty's Colleges, beg leave to acknowledge with great Humility the receipt of Your Majesty's most gracious Letter, Willing and Requiring us to choose at the Election now depending John Trenchard Bromfield into a Child's place in Your Majesty's said College of Winchester.

We beg leave most humbly to assure Your Majesty, that this Signification of Your Royal Pleasure was received with a Respect becoming the most dutiful of Your Majesty's Subjects; and at the same time do most humbly and most earnestly beseech your Majesty to take into Your Princely Consideration the Case of Your Petitioners, who, by the Statutes of our Founder, William of Wykeham, (confirmed to us by many Grants and Charters of Your Majesty's Royal Progenitors) are constituted sole Electors of his two Colleges; and that we are bound by a solemn Oath, yearly taken before we enter upon the Duty of Electors, not to be swayed by fear or favour, intreaty or reward.

We do confess that in the Reigns of King Charles the Second and King James, Letters Mandatory have from time to time taken place in our Elections, to the great grief of our predecessors; but that at length upon a humble representation made to King William, His Majesty was pleased to return this most gracious Answer: "God forbid, that I should hinder any of

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whole conduct took care they should not
all

my Colleges from observing their Statutes."——It pleased God soon after to take to Himself his late Majesty King William of Glorious Memory: But the Representation above-mentioned meeting with like favour and success at the hands of his Successor, her late Majesty Queen Anne, we have hitherto enjoyed the Freedom of Elections agreeably to the Trust reposed in us by our Founder, to the unspeakable comfort and satisfaction of Your Majesty's Two Colleges and all that bear relation to them.

We presume to approach Your Sacred Majesty upon this Occasion, with equal Humility and Confidence, persuading ourselves, that as Your Majesty's Reign stands most illustriously distinguished by Acts of Grace and Favour to Your People; as all Your Subjects of all ranks and degrees sit down in the full and secure enjoyment of their respective Rights; so your Majesty will be graciously pleased to extend your Goodness to us also; that we may not be made the single exception to this most general Rule of Your Majesty's Government, but may still continue to enjoy a Free Choice in our Elections; a Privilege, of all others the most dear and valuable to us.

And we are the rather inclined to this Assurance, from a Consciousness, that as we offer up to Almighty God our daily Prayers for the Welfare and Prosperity of Your Majesty's Person, Family, and Government, so we are and shall be careful to instill the same
Principles

be deceived. The Bishops whom he

Principles of Duty and Loyalty into the Youth committed to our Care.

Signed

Henry Bigg, Warden of New College.

John Dobson, Warden of Winchester College.

The Two Wardens waited on his Majesty at St. James's, with the Petition.

His Majesty's Answer was,

As you seem rather to distrust my Right than to ask any Favour, I shall leave the matter to my Attorney-General.

The Two Wardens returned to the Election, and finished the Roll, adding this Clause : " Joannes Trenchard Bromfield, quem nominamus sub hâc conditione, ut admittatur in primum Successionis locum, postquam Regiæ Literæ Jure confirmatæ fuerint."

He never succeeded.

The Six Electors were, Henry Bigg, D. D. Warden of New College. John Dobson, D. D. Warden of Winchester College. Thomas Prior, A. M. John Coker, LL. B. Posers. John Backshall, A. M. Sub-Warden, and John Burton, A. M. Schoolmaster of W. College."

The King and his advisers were much to blame for making this attempt, but had prudence enough to desist from it. The Nomination required was not to a *Fellowship*, but a *Child's place*; and it never took effect.]

imprisoned, (1) the Clergy whom he threatened, the whole Nation whom he insulted, knew, that his design was, under the specious name of Toleration, in defiance of the existing Laws, to introduce Popery, and to subvert the Church of England, which those Laws had established and guarded. And was this ‘a cause, in which it was worthy of a King to fall?’ (2) A King of a limited Monarchy, who had sworn to maintain the Laws, which are not in this country the acts of the Monarch alone, but of the three branches of the Legislature, of which he is only one? Who had himself seen the miseries into which the Nation had been plunged by

(1) Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury—Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph—Turner, Ely—Lake, Chichester—Kenn, Bath and Wells—White, Peterborough—and Trelawney, Bristol.

(2) Vol. 1. p. 438. “He endeavoured to enforce his famous declaration of liberty of conscience, and he lost the Crown for himself and the House of Stuart by the attempt. *To fall in such a cause was worthy of a King.*”

Had

by attempts to extend the royal authority beyond its legal bounds, and the invincible spirit of the people with which such attempts were resisted? But excessive religious Zeal, joined to the love of Power, is deaf to all the counsels of prudence and virtue. (1)

The

Had Mr. M. no apprehension, when he wrote this, of being prosecuted by the Attorney-General for a Libel on the Constitution? I do not wish him the inconvenient consequences of such a prosecution, and it would not be *tanti*. But I have no hesitation in saying, that it deserves it more, than Mr. Reeves's unfortunate Metaphor or Comparison, which was so prosecuted in consequence of a Vote of the House of Commons. Mr. R.'s real crime however, with persons of a certain description, was his being the Author, not of the Metaphor or Comparison, but of the Associations against Jacobinism.

Does Mr. M. see, to what consequences his high declaration in favor of James leads? If James was *unjustly* deprived of his Crown, what becomes of the Title of the succeeding Princes William and Mary, and Anne; of the House of Hanover, and his present Majesty?

(1) That James acted in direct defiance of the existing Laws by his Declaration of Indulgence is cer-

The consequence of James's measures was the memorable Revolution of 1688. The name has been so disgraced by the recent events to which it has been applied, that I wish I had some other to substitute for it. It consisted in the change of the person of the Sovereign, departing as little as possible from the established line of succession; and in *not* changing the Constitution, but rendering it more perfect and more secure by guarding against a repetition of those attempts, to which Public Liberty

tain; and if proofs were wanting of the *illegality* of his conduct, Mr. M. furnishes a strong one in the same page (Vol. i. 440.) where he is in a high tone justifying him. He tells us, * that Dr. James Smith, President of the English College of Douay, was nominated by King James to be *One of the first Four Apostolical Vicars in England, with the title of Archbishop of Chalcodon, and an allowance of 1000l. per ann.* He nominated this person, whose very coming into the kingdom was penal, to an Office forbidden by the Laws to exist in this country, and the exercise of which made him subject to a capital punishment, with the addition of an ample salary. It is hardly possible to crowd into a single act more violations of Law.

had

had lately been exposed; a conduct this diametrically opposite to that of Modern Revolutionists.

James having sacrificed his Crown to his Religion, that Religion being declared a disqualification in future to any claims of succession, and Protestant Sovereigns being placed on the throne, the Catholics of this country were placed in a situation still more adverse to its Government, more liable to the suspicion of wishing and endeavouring to subvert it, than at any former period. They might naturally be supposed to venerate the late King as a Martyr, to consider their own interests as inseparably united with those of him and his family. These interests too were supported by the most powerful Prince in Europe, who received the Royal Exile under his protection, and took up arms for the declared purpose of re-establishing him on his throne. In a foreign war under these circumstances; the kingdom threatened with invasion; Ireland full of Catholics devoted to James, and for some time possessed by him; great part of

the nation disaffected from an habitual attachment to the deprived Family; plots formed of the most desperate kind; (1) it required all William's vigilance and firmness to guard and maintain his new Government. Unfortunately for the Catholics at home every thing concurred to make them appear dangerous to it. Attachment to the Stuart Family, not only from the general feelings by which great part of the nation was affected, but from sentiments of Religion, the Religion for which James suffered; and disappointment in the hopes with which his reign had flattered them of being relieved at least from the restraints so long endured, perhaps of having a decided superiority given to their Church, were additional motives peculiar to them of hostility and aversion. To meet these new dangers new Laws were enacted, with increased severies and restraints. (2)

The

(1) In 1696 a Conspiracy was formed to assassinate the King.

(2) If Mr. M, had been a subject of King William, holding

The same alarms continued during the succeeding reigns. Lewis acknowledged the title of James's son to the Crown; this claim in the hands of France was kept continually impending over the Nation, and actually produced after the accession of the House of Hanover two Rebellions, one in 1715 and the other in 1745. It was not till the auspicious commencement of his present Majesty's reign. (1) that these alarms from the pretensions of the Stuart Family, together with the fears of Popery adherent to them, subsided; and that Jacobitism, as a formidable party, expired.

From the foregoing slight view of political transactions it appears, that from Elizabeth's accession down to the last mentioned period the Catholics of this country have been, most unfortunately for them, placed in a situation of almost constant hostility, and consequently of suspicion, to the exist-

holding the same opinions on the Revolution which he *now* professes to hold, would it not have been reasonable to lay him under some strict legal restraints?

(1) Oct. 25, 1760.

ing

ing Government. Their interests were opposite to the interests of the great Body of the Nation; zeal for their Religion was the ruling principle of their sect; and this could not be gratified but by the sacrifice both of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Establishment as founded on the Laws, and by the subversion of Public Liberty. To guard therefore against these dangers was the duty of the Legislature in every period, and to adapt their remedies to evils as they arose. It must be allowed, that these remedies were violent; but it must also be remembered, that the danger was often urgent. It is extremely difficult to estimate with any thing like certainty what was *the exact measure* of severity which each occasion required, and what provisions were *just* sufficient to give Security to Government, without imposing on those, who suffered, unnecessary hardships; or whether any different or more lenient measures would have been effectual. It is greatly to be lamented, that any part of a community, for any reason, should profess principles inconsistent with the general

neral principles of its Government, and have interests separate from those of the community at large.

But whatever might have been the necessity of these penal Laws, whatever judgement may be formed of their severity, the execution of them has been in fact long suspended; they have been suffered to lie dormant by the mildness of Government and the humanity of the Nation. It is at the same time still a hardship to be liable to penalties, though with the highest probability of their being never inflicted. At length the time came, when the undisputed settlement of the Crown under his present Majesty in the reigning Family, and the almost entire extinction of other claimants, allowed the Legislature to relieve the Catholics from their severe restraints; to treat them as our fellow subjects; and no longer as the enemies of that Constitution, which has for a century past produced beyond the examples of other Governments Private Comfort and Public Prosperity. The Legislature indeed accomplished, what had long been anticipated

pated by the opinion and wishes of moderate and liberal men, which in most cases operate silently beforehand, and gradually prepare the way for any great change of national jurisprudence ; and from this auspicious era we may date Religious Pacification, the extinction of that internal hostility, which had subsisted for above two centuries between Popery and Government. (1)

We cannot feel too much gratitude to our ancestors, who by their firm conduct in those trying times, and at the Revolution particularly, secured to us the blessings we now enjoy. They deserve as much gratitude for the wisdom and temper with which they effected this great work, as for their firmness. It was effected without the appearance of violent innovation, without tumult, without bloodshed. It was most fortunate for the Country, that a person existed, so qualified in all points, as the Prince of Orange, to be the instrument of

(1) Sir John Mitford, the present Attorney-General, had the honor of proposing this measure to Parliament in 1791.

its deliverance; the Grandson of Charles I, the Husband of James's eldest Daughter, and Governor of a Nation connected by its true interest with England in opposition to the overbearing power and ambition of France; Himself judicious, penetrating, provident, and able; wise in forming plans, and of determined constancy and inflexible perseverance in supporting them; ranking at the same time with the first military and political characters of his age.

The patriotism of the imprisoned Bishops deserves high commendation. They were perhaps from their station in the Church more exposed to the effects of the King's displeasure, than most of his other subjects; and from them, considering the political opinions then prevalent with the Clergy, such resistance was least to be expected. They would not have shewn more virtue, but more strength of mind and consistency of reasoning, if they had all, like Trelawney, concurred in the subsequent measures of the Revolution, and retained their Sees under the new Government. Hough performed
also

also a distinguished part, standing at the head of his Society in opposition to the King. His spirited answer to the Commissioners deserves to be recorded in his own words. "I will be plain with your Lordships. I find that your Commission gives you authority to change and alter the Statutes, and to make new ones, as you think fit. Now, my Lords, we have an Oath not only to observe these Statutes, (laying his hand on the Book) but to admit no new ones or alterations in these. This must be my behaviour here. I must admit of no alteration from it, and by the grace of God I never will." (1) He was rewarded for his public

(1) State Trials. vol. iv. p. 269.

Vol. i. p. 440. note (1). "By the tenor of their Statutes Dr. Hough and the other Fellows were bound to pray for their deceased Founder, to say Mass, to observe Celibacy, &c. &c. For their non-observance of these articles they could have *no plea, but the Dispensation of the Crown, by virtue of the Supremacy.*" This is said either from great ignorance of the subject, or because it suits Mr. M.'s purpose better than the true statement. *The Dispensing Power of the Crown*
and

public virtue by enjoying in an eminent station, and during a life extended beyond the

and the Supremacy have nothing to do with the present question. The *Law of the Land* is supreme and general. It is paramount to all particular, local, or private Statutes, Regulations, or Ordinances whatsoever. Any thing therefore contained in these contrary to that Law is *ipso facto* void; it is virtually expunged from them; it no longer exists.

When the Members of a College in either of our Universities take an Oath to observe Statutes dictated and enjoined by a Roman Catholic Founder, it is only to observe those which *are still in force*, which remain *unrepealed* by the Legislature. [Such was the Statute, to which Hough and his Fellows adhered in refusing to elect for President a person *unqualified* by the terms of it.] With respect to Popish Ceremonies and Forms of Worship, Statutes in these instances are not only no longer *obligatory*, but to observe them would be *criminal*, and punished as such. *Fellows of Colleges* in our Universities are still restrained from marrying; but this restraint is continued not from motives of Religion, but of Expedience. A Fellowship ought to be considered only as a transitory provision, leading to a future professional establishment, and should not have inducements for men to dwell on it. I know of few characters less useful to the community than that of a *Fellow of a College for life*, except he be expressly employed

the common limits of nature, universal good opinion and esteem.

Of ployed in the instruction of the younger Members, or (what is rare) in peculiar literary studies, which can only be prosecuted in a University. *The Head* of such a Society is placed in circumstances directly opposite. It is expedient, that *he* should consider himself as established in his office *for life*, that he should have every inducement to abide on it. Restriction from Marriage therefore must, in this view of his situation, be inexpedient and improper. For this reason I thought it unfortunate, that an application made some years ago to Parliament, for the purpose of releasing the Warden of Wadham College in Oxford from the restriction, was unsuccessful. The College was founded since the Reformation by Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, who were Catholics, and imposed celibacy on the Warden in consequence of their religious prejudices. Why these prejudices should be suffered to operate on an eminent station in one of our Universities, in opposition to the general sense and policy of the Country, I profess to see no sufficient reason; especially as I believe such restrictions in cases of private property are by our Courts of Law much discountenanced. The application was opposed with some violence by Lord Thurlow, then Lord Chancellor, and in consequence of that opposition was rejected.—If the Founders had ordered their Warden to

observe

Of all the persons concerned in accomplishing the great work of the Revolution there is none, who seems to have obtained so completely the concurring suffrages of the nation in his favor, as Lord Sommers. His eminent knowlege in the Laws of his Country, his uniform application of this knowlege to the preservation and improvement of its Constitution, the temper however and moderation with which he pursued his objects, his powers of reasoning and persuasion either in a Court of Justice or a Senate, his political wisdom, and above all his consummate integrity, joined with elegant literature and talents of an agreeable kind, give him almost unrivalled pre-eminence of character in the history of these transactions.

All questions concerning Government were in these times so implicated with Religion, that more importance than usual

observe all the Abstinences and Fasts of the Roman Church, would the Legislature have refused to relieve him?

P

was

was attached to theological Controversy. The Divines of our Church, who vindicated the cause of Protestantism against Popery, (and they did it irresistibly) had no inconsiderable share in fixing the opinion of the public on these political as well as religious subjects; and performed, by their writings, adapted to the immediate topics of discussion, an essential service to their Country. The names of Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Burnet, (1) Sherlock, (2) Wake, and Clarke are such as would do honor to any nation; and will always hold an eminent rank among those, who have most excelled in Learning applied to theological subjects and to the knowlege of Holy Scripture, and in reasoning powers employed in establishing the great truths both of Natural and Revealed Religion. Before these, Barrow had exerted his comprehensive mind most successfully in the same cause.

Bishop Hoadly may be considered as the

(1) As a Divine.

(2) The elder, Father of Bishop Sherlock.

last of those, who were concerned during those times of party violence in the defence of Protestant Religious Principles and of the Protestant Succession. As early as the year 1710 he was recommended to Queen Anne by the House of Commons for preferment; and his life was extended long enough to afford him the satisfaction of seeing the success of those Principles and the security of that Succession, both which he had so often and so ably defended, fully established by the accession of his present Majesty. Mr. M. has thought proper to mark him out as the peculiar object of his invective and obloquy; which, if they are unfounded, it peculiarly becomes me from veneration and gratitude to his memory to repel. I may be indulged therefore with dwelling somewhat longer, than I should otherwise do, on his character.

In those times with persons in an eminent station Politics and Religion could not be separated. Hoadly with respect to the first was a constant and zealous defender of those Principles, which placed

William and Mary on the throne, and dictated the *Acts of Settlement* for the security of the Protestant Succession. The ambiguous conduct of Queen Anne and her Ministers in the latter years of her reign on this great point gave occasion for serious alarm; but the objects of those Acts were accomplished soon after at her death by the peaceable succession of the House of Hanover to the Crown. Against these Princes, as strangers, great part of the Nation had entertained violent prejudices; and many reasoned so ill, as to refuse taking the Oaths, and to be disposed to prevent this final Settlement, made *by the Authority of Parliament*, from taking place, after having acquiesced in the change of the Succession *under the same authority*, during the two preceding reigns. In the cause of this illustrious Family Hoadly was a principal champion; and perhaps contributed more than any other single person to abate the national prejudices, and to conciliate in its favor the public affection. (1)

As

(1) He did not deserve for this to be called *the Republican*

As an Ecclesiastic, he certainly withstood the high pretensions of great part of the Clergy; pretensions, unauthorised by Reason or Scripture, maintained by a violent party-spirit, and often employed in the

publican Bishop by Bishop Horsley, in a note p. 12 of a Sermon, preached before the House of Lords in Westminster Abbey Jan. 30, 1793.—

We have so long thought ourselves secure from the danger of Popery and a Pretender, that we seem to forget the merits of those eminent persons, by whose exertions we are placed in this state of security. A new danger, and of an opposite kind, has arisen from a spirit of Irreligion and Anarchy. It is the nature of mankind, especially the less sober part of them, to pass on any change of circumstances from one extreme to another. But is it wise or reasonable, because some men wish to destroy all Religion, and all Religious Establishments, that therefore we should either revert to such High-Church notions and pretensions, as were some years ago almost exploded; or assume a sort of Piety approaching to Fanaticism? And, because there are those, who wish to destroy all subordination and all good Government, that we should therefore abandon the Constitutional Principles, to which we owe our present Liberties? This surely is doing disservice both to the Religion and the Government of our Country.

most tumultuary and factious purposes, to which the cry of the *Church* was made subservient. To Popery he was, both on political and religious grounds, decidedly adverse; to Protestant Dissenters, as intitled to Toleration and Indulgence, on the same grounds favorable. For supporting such principles he was involved in a memorable Controversy, and assailed on all sides with the utmost violence; but was thought by the most competent and impartial judges, both then and since, (for controversies are seldom read when their heat is past, though they leave a general and for the most part a just impression on the public opinion) to have obtained, by his guarded, dispassionate, and convincing reasoning, a manifest superiority over his able but less temperate antagonists. (1)

His

(1) It is somewhat remarkable, that in a periodical publication, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, carried on for the professed purpose of supporting the Government of his present Majesty King George III, the following sentence should occur; (Art. 1. for November 1799).

“ They

His writings, as a Divine, are highly respectable; but among them I will only take notice of the *Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, as a specimen of just and conclusive argument. Whatever opinions may be formed of this piece, (and they have been very various and opposite) the Author at least deserves the approbation and thanks of every *true* Protestant and *correct* Reasoner, for recalling us on a subject, which had been overwhelmed with misapprehension and superstition, to the *authority of Scripture*, by which *alone* Protestants *profess* to be determined; and for confining us in our reasonings concerning a *Rite merely positive* to the *only possible data*, on which they can be founded, the

"They [Dr. Sturges and Dr. Ashe] venerate Hoadly, whom we no less dislike; and hold Atterbury cheap, whom we honour beyond most men of his age." If however the wishes and designs of Atterbury, who is thus honored, had succeeded, George III would have never reigned.

particulars given in Scripture of the Institution itself. (1)

Mr.

(1) The same subject has been treated on the same principles, more elaborately and with still more precision, by my respectable Friend, Dr. Bell, Prebendary of Westminster; which work appears to me to approach as near *Demonstration*, as such a subject will admit. 1781.

See also Two Letters to Dr. Waterland by Bishop Pearce, written in 1730, (before Bishop Hoadly's *Plain Account* in 1735) but first published with his *Commentaries* in 1777. The reasoning in these Letters is very able, and in the result agrees entirely with Bishop Hoadly and Dr. Bell. I will transcribe from them, as being perhaps not much known, the two following passages. "Possibly (says the Bishop to Dr. W.) you have not exerted your whole strength as yet in the cause, and may have more convincing proofs of your doctrine, than what you have hitherto offered. But such convincing proofs must be drawn from *Scripture* and not from what the Fathers have taught; for I look upon them to have equally mistaken the Eucharist with the Moderns; and in no one point more than this does their wit and lively fancy get the better of their judgement; if they had been abler Critics, they would have been sounder Divines on this article. But I have long since divested myself of all prejudices for *authorities* of the Fathers, or *systems* of Modern Divines;

Mr. M.'s character of Bishop Hoadly and mine are (as it might be supposed) much at variance.

vines; not out of contempt of them, (for I read them and value them as far as they seem to deserve value) but that I might in matters of Faith learn, as it were, to go alone, and walk in the search of *Scriptural Truths* by the assistance of *Scripture* only, and such helps as really contribute to the better understanding of them." Near the end of the 1st Letter.

"In my judgement nothing has occasioned the loss of that due reverence which is owing to the Sacraments, so much, as the making more of them than *Scripture* has done; and representing them as *Mysteries*, when they are plain religious actions. The unintelligible part of a Sacrament is what the Freethinkers have chiefly made the object of their ridicule; but had the Eucharist been represented, as I have represented it, it could never have been mentioned by Infidels with disrespect, at least it would have given them no occasion of treating it with any." Near the end of the 2d Letter.—

Some learned and able persons have considered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as the representation of a *Feast on a Sacrifice*. With respect to this opinion, I add the following *Extract* from *Letters and Remarks* printed by Bp. Lowth, (but not published) at the end of the Controversy between him and Bp. Warburton.

In the year 1754, Dr. Warburton published a 2d

Volume

variance. Which gives the truest representation, let others judge; but if authority can

Volume of Sermons; among which there was one Sermon upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. To explain this, an Hypothesis was adopted, which had tried its fortune with little success in the last Century. The Author of it was the very learned and excellent Dr. Cudworth. Even in *His* hands it had failed: nevertheless it was now thought worth while to send it forth again, in a fresh garb, in order to oppose the *Plain Account* of Bishop HOADLY.

Not long after this there was published *A Discourse on the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper; wherein is shewn, in opposition to Dr. Warburton, that it neither is, nor can be, of the Nature of a Feast on the Sacrifice.* London: printed for J. Payne, in Pater-Noster-Row. 1758. In this Discourse the learned Author [Dr. Wingfield, Rector of Hinton Ampner, Hants,] was supposed, by good Judges, to have totally overthrown, and demonstratively confuted, Dr. W's Hypothesis; and to have clearly detected the fallacies, by which he had endeavoured to set it off anew. His argument is summed up in this Syllogism; the Premises of which are supported by direct and irrefragable authorities of Holy Scripture:

“No Sin-Offerings were permitted to be feasted
“on by those, in whose behalf they were offered.”
Lev. vi, 30. Heb. xiii; 11, 12.

“But

can have its weight, I do not (as I conceive) hazard any thing in opposing to Mr. M's the authority of the Biographer of Wykeham; (1) who concludes his Dedication

"But the Death of Christ on the Cross was a Sin-
"Offering, offered in our behalf." *Rom.* v, 6. *Gal.* i, 4.
Heb. ix; 26, 28. xiii; 11, 12.

"Therefore it cannot be feasted on by us."

This being the case, the learned World was not a little surprised, when in the year 1761 this same Sermon was republished under the title of *A Rational Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; by William Lord Bishop of Gloucester*: without the least notice taken of the preceding Confutation, and as if no such thing had been ever published.'

From this extract Bishop Lowth's opinion of Bishop Hoadly's *Plain Account* (if it were not otherwise known) clearly appears.

(1) Bishop Lowth. "Your Lordship, (saith he to Bishop Hoadly) unsolicited and unasked, called him (the Author) from one of those (Wykeham's Colleges) to a Station of the first Dignity in your Diocese; and took the earliest opportunity of accumulating your favour upon him, and of adding to that dignity a suitable support. These obligations he is now the more ready thus publicly to acknowledge, as he is removed out of the reach of further favours of the like kind."

tion of that work with giving the Bishop the title of 'the Great Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty.' (1)

kind. And though he hath relinquished the advantages so generously conferred upon him, yet he shall always esteem himself highly honoured in having once enjoyed the patronage of the great Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty."

(1) What Mr. M. says of Bishop Hoadly is so full of calumny and falsehood, that it deserves to be transcribed at length. Vol. i. p. 445. "The only Bishop who was raised to the see of Winchester by George II, was the famous Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, the great champion of, what is called, the *low church*. This party gives up all pretensions to divine jurisdiction, the power of the keys, the necessity of ministerial succession, the authority of the convocation, together with the certainty of the 39 articles, and every other tenet which the established Bishops of the last century had considered as essential to the idea of a Church." It is plain the administration then in place favoured this system, which disarmed the Church, and made it a mere tool of the State, by the successive preferments which its great hero met with, namely, the Sees of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and lastly that of Winchester, upon the death of Dr. Willis; as also by its taking advantage of his concessions to dissolve the Convocation, which has never been allowed by Government to proceed to any business since his time."

Vol. ii. p. 32. 'On the steps leading into the Choir, the eye cannot be restrained from fixing on that inimitable medallion of Bishop Hoadly, against the pillar, on the left hand, over his tomb and epitaph. The hard stone here assumes the soft foldings of the Prelate's silken ornaments, and the cold marble is animated with his living, speaking features. But what an incongruous association of emblems do we here find crowded in the margin! The *democratic pike* and cap is in satire with the pastoral crosier, Magna Charta is blended with the new scripture, as equally the subject of the Bishop's meditations. In vain, however, we look for the *mask and dagger* to record the dramatic labours of the deceased, from which he is certainly entitled to as much honour as from most of his other writings. One remark more will strike us before we lose sight of this monument. The column against which it is placed has been cut away to a considerable depth, in order to make place for it, evidently to the weakening of the whole fabric. Thus it may be said with truth of Dr. Hoadly, that both living and dying he *undermined the Church* of which he was a Prelate."

Of the Bishop's public character I have said enough in the text. The *plain tale* of his Monument is this. It was at first erected against the side of one of the clusters of pillars in the great nave nearest to the place, where he lay interred. The situation of the monument was thought disadvantageous to it, and also injurious to the beauty of that part of the Church, by breaking

breaking the line of pillars which form the aisle. In the mean time on the Choir being new-paved about the year 1766, the area before its entrance was enlarged, and the flight of steps leading to it much improved. After that, the monument was removed from its former to its present situation *by the Desire of the Dean and Chapter*; who thought it would be *there* more conspicuous, and cover a defect in the architecture of the Church. For when Wykeham new-formed the Western aisle and fashioned Walkelin's Norman Pillars into the Gothic, the lower part of the two uppermost pillars of the aisle next the Screen of the Choir was concealed by some inside structure, which has been since removed, (of what kind is not material) and was therefore left unfinished. The old Norman capitals are still to be seen on each side. The pillar was not *cut away*, [or certainly not so as to affect the Building] but the Monument was *placed against it*. I am sorry to spoil Mr. M.'s elegant ambiguity of *undermining the Church*.

When it was erected, the name and emblems of Liberty had not been disgraced, as they have since been, by the most flagrant abuse of them. It will always be an honor to an English Bishop to cherish and defend the *Constitutional Liberty of his Country*; and with the emblems of this those of *True Christianity* may well be blended. No *Democratic Pike* in this instance makes part of them.

Mr. M. represents the Bishop as a Dramatic Author, by a very gross mistake of him for his Son Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, M. D. who wrote the comedy of the
Suspicious

Suspicious Husband. The fact is, that the Bishop's mind and studies were (as may be supposed) directed to very different objects; and to *my knowledge* he discouraged in his Sons the love of dramatic composition and representation, to which they had both from natural genius a strong propensity.

In private life the Bishop's temper, amidst the storms that surrounded him, was placid, equable, and chearful in a remarkable degree. This temper his Sons inherited. With the elder, Dr. Benjamin H. I had not the good fortune to be acquainted. With Dr. John H. late Chancellor of the Diocese, I had the honor (for I shall always esteem it such) of living on terms of the most intimate friendship. He was (and I appeal to those, who yet remember him, for the truth of what I say) one of the most liberal, pleasant, and amiable of men. To his memory I bear the highest respect, the most sincere affection, and for great obligations the warmest gratitude. May I be allowed to pay this small tribute to it!

“His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani

“Munere!”

Virgil.

I subjoin the following stanza of an Ode addressed to Bishop H. by Akenside. 1754.

“To him the Teacher blest,
Who sent Religion from the palmy field
By Jordan, like the morn, to chear the West,
And lifted up the veil which Heav'n from Earth conceal'd,

To

To Hoadly thus his mandate he address ;
Go thou, and rescue my dishonor'd Law
From hands rapacious and from tongues impure ;
Let not my peaceful name be made a lure
Fell Persecution's mortal snares to aid ;
Let not my words be impious chains to draw
The free-born Soul in more than brutal awe,
To Faith without assent, Allegiance unrepaid."

LETTER

LETTER VII.

General Reflections and Conclusion.

SUCH have been the reflections, that Mr. M.'s History of Winchester suggested to me; a work, for executing which he was peculiarly qualified, and which would have been received with general pleasure and approbation, if he had not rendered it offensive to great part of his readers by introducing foreign matter, making it the vehicle of unpleasant controversy, and disparaging characters, which we are used highly to respect.

Few Authors are without their partialities. It is very difficult to divest ourselves of them. But some Authors we may suppose at least endeavour it; and we seldom find any, who do not *profess* impartiality, and spread over their prejudices some veil at least, which they may think sufficient to

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conceal

conceal them. But Mr. M. setting out with high professions of this sort, and with a degree of importance suited rather to History of a more extensive and elevated kind than that of a single City, (1) has taken so little care to conceal his prejudices, that he rather appears to make a merit of them. All characters with him seem to be measured by the scale of Religion. It is their approach to or recess from Popery, by which his judgement of them is regulated. And Mr. M. is himself (as I apprehend) a High-church Catholic. For, when in 1791 the Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholics was depending in Parliament, the first proposal was in favor only of persons calling themselves *Protesting Catholic Dissenters* from a Protestation they made, or were ready to make, of renouncing those Popish political Doctrines which had been esteemed most exceptionable and dangerous; and the Oath, required to be taken, was framed in conformity to it. But to this the more ri-

(1) Pref. p. 16.

gid Catholics, and Mr. M. in particular, who took an active part in the transaction, objected; and such was the indulgence and liberality of the Legislature, of the Bishops especially in the House of Lords, who supported the Bill and entered cordially into the measure, as to extend the Toleration proposed to the Catholics at large; and the Oath was modified, and rendered consistent with their feelings and opinions. (1)

It is this partiality and high-wrought zeal, which has made Mr. M. introduce the mention of every Catholic Family, almost of every Catholic name, (and in some instances repeatedly) that had the most remote relation to this place or the neighbouring country, and with marks of the highest predilection. Bishops of Winchester since the Reformation have been in general very hardly treated by him; most of them spoken of in terms of severe censure. Horne, who had returned full of puritanical ideas from Geneva, might de-

(1) See Appendix.

serve it for an unnecessary and injudicious demolition of the Buildings and Ornaments of the Church. And Bilson certainly disgraced his former high character for learning and ability, 'by the part he took in the scandalous divorce of the Countess of Essex,' being first Commissioner on that occasion. (1) In the few that are commended, the motive of the commendation may be traced to Mr. M.'s religious opinions. Bishop Andrews's Epitaph is in part recited, 'which celebrates his birth, education, promotions, learning, orthodoxy, and virtues; amongst which is numbered his *Celibacy*, as intitling him to a particular future reward.' (2) Curle is spoken of with respect, 'as entering perfectly into the views of Charles I and Archbishop Laud in the external decorations and ceremonies of worship; such as the ornaments of Churches,

(1) Bilson was successively Fellow of New College, Master of Winchester College, Prebendary of Winchester, Warden of Winchester College, Bishop of Worcester, and then of Winchester.

(2) Vol. i. p. 398.

the admission of Pictures and Images, the use of Copes, and bowing to the Altar.'(1) Among the virtues of Morley, his learning, his munificence, and his charity (which were truly eminent) are properly commended; but 'his *austerity of life*, eating but once in the twenty-four hours, and rising every morning in the coldest weather, and without a fire, at five o'clock,' would in our estimation hardly deserve to be recorded. (2) Mews's exertion of his old military talents in defence of his Master at the battle of Sedgemoor does him honor; (3) but his letter to the Lord President of the Council on the affair of Magdalen College is still more honorable, and came with the

(1) Vol. i. p. 440.

(2) There is an interesting character of Morley in the earlier part of his life, in Clarendon's Life. Part i. p. 25.

(3) In the Clarendon Papers there is a recommendation of *Captain Mews* (the Bishop I presume) from Charles II during his exile to his Sister the Princess of Orange for some Professorship in a Dutch University.

utmost propriety from him, as Visitor. (1)
For the Bishop of Winchester is Visitor
of that College, and not the King. (2)

(1) "My honoured Lord, The obligation I have upon me as Visitor of St. Mary Magdalen College in Oxon occasions this address. For I am informed, that great endeavours are used with his Majesty to recommend one Mr. Farmer, who is not at present, nor ever was Fellow of the College, to be President of it; *which is directly contrary to the Statutes of the Founder.* And were there not many persons now actually Fellows, and several, who have been very eminent for Learning and Loyalty, and every way *qualified according to the Statutes*, I should not press your Lordship to lay the concern of the College—before his Majesty; who I hope will leave them to their Rules, as the Statutes have hitherto (excepting in the times of Rebellion) been conscientiously observed; which will be the highest satisfaction to the truly loyal University, and promote his Majesty's service."

State Trials, vol. iv. 261.

(2) No other King I believe ever claimed Visitorial Powers over any College, to which a particular Visitor was appointed by its Founder. Of some such Societies *the King is the Statutable Visitor*; and, when he is called upon in that capacity, acts by means of the Lord Chancellor.—See Note (1) p. 204.

Of Mr. M.'s violence and calumny towards Hoadly sufficient notice has been already taken.

But there is a respectable name, the name of a person highly valued by both of us, which I have not yet mentioned, referred to in almost every page of his work, with studied repetition, and almost always with marked and severe censure. (1) I mean the late Mr. Wavell, your Predecessor in the Rectory of St. Maurice in this place, to whom he has chosen to ascribe the whole of an *anonymous History of Winchester*; in which there is hardly any thing valuable or correct, but the single account of Magdalen Hospital, of which he was the Master. This account Mr. Wavell communicated to the Publisher; which, from his having in his hands the best documents and from his known accuracy of investigation, I am persuaded is authentic to the utmost mi-

(1) Vol. i. p. 427. note (1) "We are happy for once to have it in our power to quote this writer without censure."

nuteness. But of no other part of that work was he the Author. Mr. M. might have known this from several persons, if he had thought proper to inquire; we, both of us, and the Publisher, (1) could have given him this information *on our own knowledge*. You *did* give it him after the publication of his first volume, and your letter produced a cold and reluctant retraction, which appeared in the Preface of the second; but still the name main-

(1) Extract from a letter of Mr. Wilkes the Publisher to the Rev. Mr. Newbolt, dated Milland House, Sussex, Aug. 24, 1798.

"I take the earliest opportunity of assuring you, that Mr. Wavell wrote no other part of the History and Antiquities of Winchester, published by me in 1773, than what relates to Magdalen Hospital, of which he was then the Master. And his only motive for contributing that part was, "to leave on record every particular relative to the Charity, to prevent its being abused." These, as nearly as I can recollect, were his words to me; and I shall be happy, if the asserting them, or any other fact within my memory, can assist you in wresting from obloquy the name of so good a man as Mr. Wavell."

tained

tained its place at the bottom of the page, throughout the book, loaded with all the inaccuracies and falsehoods of that anonymous work. The above retractation was indeed making him very poor amends.

It is singular, that this imputation of inaccuracy and falsehood should fall upon Mr. Wavell; because we well knew his extreme patience and attention in all his inquiries, and his rigid adherence to truth with a solicitude almost peculiar to himself. His character has been most faithfully expressed in an epitaph, written by Dr. War-ton, (1) of great simplicity and elegance, which

(1) While I have been writing these additional Notes, the world has been deprived of this accomplished and amiable Scholar. In elegant Learning and critical Taste I have always considered him as consummate and almost supreme. This Taste he excelled in imparting to successive generations of rising scholars, over whom he for many years presided in Wykeham's College. Hardly any man possessed so much of what may be called the *Private History* of Literature and Literary men. But what might be less expected from such a Scholar was, his being almost
equally

which I will subjoin. (1) Some features of this character will perhaps account for Mr. M.'s prejudice against him; to which may be added, that Bishop Hoadly was his Patron.

It is difficult to assign any other motive for Mr. M.'s introducing so much contro-

equally well informed on most other subjects; on philosophical and theological opinions, and general History. The good humor and vivacity, with which he communicated this Taste and Knowledge to his Friends, will long be remembered by them with affection and regret.

(1) H. S. E.

Richardus Wavell, A. M.

Danielis & Annæ Filius.

Hujus Ecclesiæ per annos 37

Pastor Fidelis, Assiduus, Pius;

Moribus simplex;

Vitæ umbratili & secretæ deditus;

Paucis, quos coluit, amicis carissimus;

Græcarum & Hebraicarum literarum peritus;

Theologiæ studiis unice intentus;

Veræ Religionis non hominum commentis fucata

Indagator acutus, patiens, sagax.

Vixit annos LXI.

Obiit Aprilis 2^{do} an. 1779.

versial

versial and theological matter into his History of Winchester, than pure religious zeal without an adequate object for exerting it. It is to be presumed, that most of those of his own communion will read it with approbation. (1) But they are good Catholics already; they do not want any confirmation of their faith. Can he suppose, that his plea for the Church of Rome will influence the minds of well-informed Protestants, or of Englishmen attached to their Civil Government, (for the book is not written for the vulgar) in favor of her Principles and Institutions? If he does suppose this, I conceive, that he forms a very mistaken judgement of our national character. I should think not. That it will not tend to conciliate different sects, and to promote religious concord, is pretty certain; though he professes this to be his object in comparing Mary's and Elizabeth's persecutions. (2) In his Preface indeed he seems aware,

(1) I am however informed that this is by no means generally the case.

(2) Vol. i. p. 379.

that

that the opinions he means to deliver are some of them very opposite to those, which are now most prevalent and most approved. (1)

No time can seem more unfavorable than the present for the success of the Roman Catholic Religion in every part of the world, or more discouraging to the hopes of its zealous partisans. We see it abolished as a national Religion in one vast country of Europe; war declared against it every where (against Christianity indeed in general, but especially this form of it) by the ambitious and unprincipled Governors of that Country; its Pontiff, a venerable old man, degraded, insulted, expelled from his capital, harrassed with removals from place to place, treated with every kind of indignity and brutality; evils sufficient to exhaust the feeble remains of a long life, in which during his Pontificate he is said to have deserved by his good government and public spirit the respect and affection of

(1) Vol. i. Pref. p. 17.

his subjects. (1) I do not mean, that the Pope's spiritual power (whatever it may be) depends on his residing at Rome, or that with Pius VI the Popedom must necessarily be extinct; but certainly that Church since the time of its greatness was never in such a state of humiliation as at present, and never so little likely to extend its influence, or to make any where fresh acquisitions. But for this Country especially, there seems to me little reason to apprehend the increase of Popery in any serious point of view. The good sense of the Nation is proof against it; their disinclination to it hereditary; (2) it is discordant with the character of our People, and the genius of our Government; and our Established Church

(1) He has since sunk under his age and misfortunes at Valence in Dauphiny.

(2) [I wish this disinclination to continue; but applied to the *Religion* itself, not to the *persons* who profess it, and confined within the bounds of charity and moderation. Mr. M. cannot detest (Ans. p. 212) a mob of 50,000 Fanatic Protestants, with Lord George Gordon at their head, more heartily than myself.]

is

is inseparably united with our Civil Constitution.

All persons however are not of this opinion; many think the Church of Rome ought still to be kept at a distance, and regarded with vigilance and distrust, on account of her indefatigable zeal in making proselytes, and the unreasonable and unchristian pretence for it, the exclusive claim of her members to salvation: (1) a principle

(1) "There is an opinion of your Church, which, disgusting all who are out of its pale and every man of liberal principles that is in it, cannot but produce evil. I mean that opinion, which dooms all men to damnation who are not members of your communion. The terms I use are not too harsh.—Members of your Church, shocked by the atrocity of this opinion, have attempted so to explain its meaning, that it should cease to alarm. But their efforts have only evinced the candor of their own minds; for truer Theologians than themselves have uniformly maintained, that *intolerance* is an essential article of their Church's creed."

Considerations addressed to French Bishops, &c. as cited before, p. 91.

To mitigate this atrocity, Cardinal Ximenes is said to have formed rather an extraordinary hypothesis; that

ple this, productive of infinite evils in the Christian world, which have also in many instances recoiled on the Church of Rome herself. They look back on the convulsions occasioned in this country at different times by her influence, on the dangers the Nation has often escaped, and are ready to relapse into their old suspicions and apprehensions.

This being the case, what is the prudent line of conduct for a Catholic, with reference to the general interests of the Catholics of this Country, at present to pursue? I will venture to assume, that there is not the most remote chance of their Church ever becoming again the National Church of this kingdom. If there were, ambition to accomplish this end would account for any means employed to promote it. But this I put out of the question; for I can hardly believe even Mr. M. sanguine enough to entertain such hopes.

that persons might by the divine influence be converted to the faith of the Roman Church, insensibly to themselves, in the article of death. See Note (2) p. 118

The

The Catholics have been within these few years relieved from the severe laws, by which they were kept in a constant state of depression, as a sect hostile and dangerous to the Government. By the lapse of time, the difference of circumstances, and a change of opinions in great part of the Catholics themselves, they have appeared no longer dangerous; and I with pleasure do them the justice of acknowledging, that their general conduct has for many years deserved the confidence of Government for loyalty and fidelity. Liberal men therefore had long wished them to be relieved; and the Legislature has effected it. But it must be remembered, that *their being no longer dangerous* was the supposition, the *sine qua non*, on which this measure proceeded. There was no longer a Popish Heir of the Crown or Competitor, as Mary Queen of Scots; no longer a King suspected of Popery, and his Brother and Heir passionately devoted to it; the claim of him as King and of his descendents no longer favored by great part of the Nation,
and

and supported by foreign powers. Under these circumstances Toleration has been granted to the Catholics; it has been granted, because we wished to treat them as Friends, and did not *fear* them as enemies.

What then (I repeat) is the prudent line of conduct for a Catholic to pursue? Is it by discussing old subjects of contention to awaken dormant animosities? Is it, by holding forth invidious comparisons, to commend the *old* National Religion and state of the country at the expence of the *present*? To plead against the cause of Liberty, both Civil and Religious, of which the Nation is so proud and so tenacious? To justify acts condemned by the Country, condemned by the Legislature; acts involving in them consequences subversive of our present Constitution, of the Title of our present reigning Family to the Crown? To vilify eminent characters, who have stood forth in the cause of our Religion and Liberty? Is all this consulting the interest of the great body of English Catholics? I think certainly not.

R

I

I believe it, as I have said, to have been long the sincere wish of almost all liberal and well informed persons of this Country, that Catholics should be permitted (as they are now permitted) to exercise their own religious worship, to celebrate their own rites, and observe their own forms as they please; not under the cover of secrecy, but by the express allowance of the Legislature. That they should have the means of educating *their own* Children according to their religious principles is alike reasonable. That they should be relieved from the severe and multiplied Laws so long kept suspended over them, and especially from some peculiarly oppressive respecting their property, (1) must have given almost general satisfaction. But I do *not* believe it to be the wish of those, who are *most* favorably disposed to them, to have this Religion studiously brought forward into public no-

(1) 18 G. III. c. 60. and Land-tax Acts since 1794, in which the double charge on Papists is omitted.

tice, and with some degree of parade and ostentation; to have it opposed to the National Church in a manner, as if there were a moral possibility of its being at some future time re-established here in its antient superiority; or to have the political opinions, which are built on it, but are inconsistent with our Civil Liberties, strenuously supported under the shelter of this Toleration. On the contrary, I am persuaded, that nothing can so much tend, as such conduct, to make them regret (if they could be induced by any thing to regret it) a measure of the Legislature, which originated in motives of wisdom and humanity, and had for its object the comfort and relief of a considerable Body of our fellow-subjects; and I am persuaded also, that nothing could so much indispose the Legislature itself to receiving favorably any application from the same quarter on any future occasion, if such an occasion may be supposed to arise.

The useful and proper effect of Tolera-

tion thus granted should be reconciliation and concord. Each party should abstain (the weaker party especially) from what is irritating and offensive. Discussions of religious disputes are generally not very edifying, either coming from the press, or delivered in places of public worship; and they are seldom free from a degree of warmth and acrimony, which do more harm by the breach of charity, than good by the investigation of what either party supposes to be truth. But this must be understood only, when there is no particular call for them; such as there was for instance near the times of *our* Revolution, when the Religion and the Liberty of the Country were at stake; and on less important occasions they may be sometimes proper, but the task is unpleasant. For such discussions must very much consist of constant censure on the adverse party; and I do not envy the man, who takes pleasure in finding fault. It is always painful to me to represent Human Nature under her worst aspect;

aspect; and if my present subject has led me to speak with harshness of men, who systematically and during many ages made Religion the instrument of their own interest and ambition; who adapted all their Principles and Institutions to this object; who employed all means even the most violent and cruel to obtain and to preserve it; and who from the pre-eminence they assumed in the Church of Christ ought to have been illustrious examples of Christian Virtue, but were many of them a disgrace, not only to our Religion, but to our nature; it is, because their Principles and Institutions, not less incompatible with our Religious Opinions than with our Civil Liberties, are obtruded on us as objects of veneration in opposition to our own, and at a time when any thing like hostility was least to be expected.

My general dislike to Controversy continues; and if I have now engaged in it notwithstanding this, it has been only (I assure you) because a case occurred, which

in my opinion, as well as in your's and that of others whom I respect, demanded some strong animadversion. So much I thought due to injured Characters, to our Protestant Church, and to our Civil Constitution.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient Servant,

J. STURGES.

Winchester, May, 1799.

APPENDIX.

The

APPENDIX,

*Concerning the Application of the English
Roman Catholics to Parliament for Re-
lief in 1791.*

IN my last letter I mentioned very shortly the circumstances attending the application of the English Roman Catholics to Parliament for Relief from the penal Laws to which they were subject, and their obtaining it by the Act passed for that purpose in 1791. Having been favored with some publications and papers relative to this transaction, which contain important particulars, and have a near connection with many parts of the foregoing Letters, I avail myself of them to add a few observations on it.

The Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of Great Britain had in 1778, during the American War, presented an Address to the King, offering their services to his Majesty in the public danger of his Kingdom and disclaiming every opinion, which seemed inconsistent with their duty as faithful subjects. In 1788, at a General Meeting of the English Catholics, a Committee was formed and directed to make an application to Parliament for their Relief in the next Session.

In 1789 the Declaration and Protestation was signed by between 1700 and 1800 persons, styling themselves the *English Catholic Dissenters*, both Clergy and Laity, and including the greater part of the most considerable families of that communion. (1)

(1) "It was signed by 240 Clergymen, (and the whole number in the kingdom is not supposed to exceed 260) by every Peer, and with few exceptions indeed by every Catholic Gentleman of rank, fortune, and respectability." Letter of Cath. Committee. State of Facts. No. VII.

In

In this Protestation were disclaimed every principle and opinion, which could be thought dangerous to the Civil Government, or render such Catholics unfit to enjoy the common rights of subjects, and to partake in the general benefits of the British Constitution. It is indeed drawn up very ably, and does this in the strongest and clearest manner. It is sufficient to satisfy any Government, that the persons holding the principles and opinions, expressed in it, are intitled to its confidence and protection; and (as far as a member of another Church can judge) is what no person, who deserves such confidence and protection, would scruple to adopt.

The application to Parliament began by a Petition, containing the substance of the Declaration and Protestation thrown into that form, and purporting to come from the *English Catholic Dissenters*. The Oath originally proposed by the Committee was a counterpart of the Protestation.

The more rigid Catholics however, most of whom had signed the Protestation, grew
dissatisfied

dissatisfied with it. All the Apostolic Vicars, at that time resident in this country, had given it their approbation, and themselves had signed it. Yet after this, they would have retracted what they had done; they exerted their ecclesiastical authority to stop the proposed application altogether; and afterwards embarrassed and impeded its progress. The Catholics of this description seemed to have relapsed into their old prejudices, and to become alarmed at having in an unguarded moment disavowed them. The Legislature however, before whom the measure was depending, shewed more disposition to concede to these scruples and to get over these difficulties, than this party of Catholics did, (even for the accomplishment of so important a measure, as an exemption from Penal Laws and a Toleration of their Religion) to agree with their own Members, who first promoted and afterwards conducted it, on the justest principles, and with great ability and attention. The Bill, therefore modified and adjusted according

according to these circumstances, passed into a Law.

Thus was the success of this great measure put to the risk, its progress impeded, and a shade thrown over the whole transaction, which began on all sides in a manner so promising and liberal; and these obstructions arose from that remnant of old prejudices, which have ever made it so difficult to reconcile the religious principles of the Church of Rome with the just demands of Civil Government for its own security and with the claims of exclusive obedience from its subjects. A plan of the same kind had failed from the same causes in the reign of George I. "Justice and Humanity (say the Committee) have ever characterized the House of Brunswick. It was the wish of George the First to relieve his Catholic Subjects, and by attaching them to his person and government, to admit them into a participation of the blessings enjoyed by other Britons. A negociation was opened with the Catholics. Mr. Craggs conducted, under the first Earl Stanhope, that negotiation

tiation. Every thing seemed settled, when an unfortunate disagreement among some of the Catholic Gentry blasted their hopes of relief. The negotiation was abruptly broken off, suspicions were entertained, that the Catholics were not yet reconciled to the Settlement of the Crown in the Brunswick line." (1)

The Catholic Committee allow, 'that the Bull of Pius V, to deprive Elizabeth of her Crown and to declare her Subjects absolved from their allegiance, was the fatal date of the penal Statutes enacted against that portion of Englishmen, who continued after the change of Religion in their country to profess the faith of their Ancestors, and abide in communion with the See of Rome.' (2) They allow also, 'that although the *Murdering Doctrine* had never been held by any portion of Catholics in the most ignorant, factious, and turbulent times; the *Deposing Power* had since the days of Pope Gregory Hildibrand met with too much countenance.' "It had indeed

(1) Lett. of Comm. p. 1.

(2) Ibid.

been

been resisted, when first claimed, as a profane novelty; but while the influence of Rome predominated in the Governments of Catholic Europe, the principle of that doctrine was very generally admitted, and the practice of it was not unfrequent. During the struggles of the Reformation, when Rome saw her grandeur, and her interests falling on every side, the Papal Court revived its claims of right to depose Monarchs with double energy and perseverance. Unfortunately for the Catholics of England a powerful party among them blended that political doctrine of Roman Ambition, with the tenets of the Catholic Religion. For more than a century that party attempted to impose a groundless and pernicious opinion, as an Article of Faith. From the reign of Elizabeth to the end of Charles the Second's reign, the English Catholics never dared to condemn in a body, the Transalpine Usurpation." (1)

Nothing less therefore than a complete

(1) Lett, of Comm. p. 4.

renunciation

renunciation of such opinions could be accepted by any Government, and this the Protestation contained ; at the same time it seemed to contain nothing more. It appeared equally calculated for the satisfaction of both parties. (1) ' Afterwards by a resolution

(1) Considering the high authorities, by which the *Temporal Power* of the Pope was supported, we cannot wonder at the anxiety of Protestant Governments to guard against this pretension, and at their requiring every possible assurance of the sincerity of those Catholics, who disclaimed it. It was supported in the most extravagant degree by the whole Order of Jesuits and the Body of the Canonists ; by Writers of the greatest note, such as Bellarmine, Baronius, and especially the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas ; to whom Mr. M. refers us (Ans. p. 21.) as the most consummate Master of the ' much degraded science of Logic,' and from whom we should have learned to reason with solidity and precision.

' Thomas in fine Secun. Sentent. dicit, In Papa esse apicem *utriusque* potestatis.' Bell. 5. i. " Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter Apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi à dominio et jramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt." Th. 2. Secund. Qu. 12. Art. 2. Did St. Thomas reason well in this instance ?

See Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.
Introduct.

solution of a General Meeting, the Protestation was deposited at the British Museum, to remain there a constant and irrefragable evidence of the purity and integrity of the moral and political principles of English Catholics. (1)

The Protestation was objected to (as was said before) though it had been signed by the most respectable part of the whole body of Catholics, and its being deposited in the Museum was vehemently opposed. With what consistency the opposers acted may be well questioned; for if it was exceptionable and did not contain their opinions as it purported to do, they should not have signed it at all; but if otherwise, where could the Evidence of the morality and innocence of their religious Principles with respect to Civil Government be more securely lodged; and its existence, as a National Record, more certainly perpetuated?

Amidst these opposers it would appear Introd. and Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery near the end.

(1) Letter, p. 27.

perhaps

perhaps unnecessary to mention Mr. M. a private Catholic Clergyman, if he had not distinguished himself by peculiar vehemence, and by his History of Winchester given occasion to the foregoing Letters.

"In a Publication, (say the Committee) called, "Facts relating to the present Contest amongst the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom, concerning the Bill to be introduced into Parliament for their Relief," signed *John Milner*, it is asserted, that the Gentlemen of the Committee had abandoned the Majority of the Roman Catholics, and taken them by Surprise. But the Committee have uniformly acted by the Instructions, and have uniformly received the Thanks and Support, of their body. In this Paper *John Milner* assumes to act in the Names of Thousands; but, when called upon to specify the Names of these Persons in whose Trust he acted, he could only produce Three Names, and confessed he had obtained the Appointment of those Three Persons after the Publication of this Paper. Of those Three Names Two had been

been signed to the Protestation, and we have never heard that those Three Persons were ever chosen by the Catholic Body, or any Portion of the Catholic Body, to transact Business in their Names. No Meeting was ever called for that Purpose: and although Attempts have been made by them to procure a Counter-Protestation, never could they obtain any one respectable name to it."

This was before the Bill was introduced to Parliament. But after it had passed, and the Protestation had been deposited in the Museum, Mr. M. made a most extraordinary charge against the Committee by calling in question the authenticity of the Instrument so deposited; and he asserted, that it was a *Copy* only, not the *Original*, (which had been withdrawn) with material variations, written on another skin of parchment and annexed to the signatures, terming it a Forgery. He also charged them with presenting a *spurious Instrument* (the Petition of the Catholics) to Parliament, which last charge however he afterwards retracted.

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The investigation of this matter was referred by the Cisalpine Club (1) to the Law Members of their Society. "Mr. Cruise, Mr. Butler, Mr. W. Throckmorton, and Mr. Clifford, attended at the Museum on Tuesday the 20th of May 1794, and Lord Petre and Sir Henry Charles Englefield were also present, at their request. As was also Mr. Hope, who was Mr. Butler's Head Clerk during the whole time he was Secretary to the late Catholic Committee, and who had the Charge of all the Papers relative to that Business." Their Report was, 'That this Protestation deposited in the Museum was not a *Copy* but the *original identical Instrument of Protestation*; the same, which was presented by the Committee to the English Catholics, and signed by them." (2) There was afterwards a *Further Report* made by the same Gentlemen which concludes thus. "We have only to repeat,

(1) It is presumed, that the Cisalpine Club was a Society of Roman Catholic Gentlemen, who disclaimed the power of the Pope in temporal matters.

(2) First Report.

that

that the charges of *Falsehood, Fraud, and Forgery*, made by Mr. Milner, are totally without foundation. That of presenting a spurious Instrument to the Houses of Parliament is so by his own confession."

During this whole transaction, the Committee appear to have conducted themselves with great good sense, temper, and consistency; having the Protestant prejudices of this Country to get over on one side, and the old prejudices and passions of their own Religious Body on the other. It is impossible to read the Letter I have so often referred to, addressed to the Catholics of England, in which the Committee give an account of their conduct, without being impressed with this opinion of it; and the Letter itself is drawn up with great clearness and ability. (1) I should conceive,

(1) This Letter is signed, Stourton, Petre, Henry Charles Englefield, John Throckmorton, John Lawson, William Fermor, John Towneley, Thomas Horn-yold, Charles Berrington, Jos. Wilks. The Committee consisted of these persons.

that the English Catholics, taken collectively, must hold themselves highly indebted to the Gentlemen, who composed it, for having carried through its different stages this most important and beneficial measure; and at length concluded it with success.

At this success I have often expressed my satisfaction, and desire here to repeat it; because I am perfectly satisfied, that Catholics, holding the opinions stated in the Protestation, do not deserve to continue under the severity of the late Penal Laws, (which were extorted by the circumstances of the times), and have the fairest claim to be treated as good and faithful subjects of our Government. But in large Bodies of men, who pass under one denomination, there will always be Individuals, who from their different tempers and modes of thinking, from their passions, and (especially in religious matters) from old prejudices, which have taken deep root, and though suppressed are always ready on the slightest occasion to spring out afresh, will act inconsistently

sistently with the professed and ostensible principles of their party. Such persons however injure the Body, to which they belong, by exciting suspicions (perhaps very groundless) of their general sincerity. The Public is not satisfied with *professions*, if it ever sees them contradicted by *facts*; and it is not enough for an Author, like Mr. M. to disclaim, on particular occasions, and in particular passages of an historical work, whatever is offensive to the Government and hostile to the Constitution of his Country, or even to give a solemn pledge of his fidelity to it, if the general tenor of such a work be an Apology for opinions the most offensive, and a Defence of acts the most unconstitutional.

The Principles, which I have combated in the foregoing Letters, are not those of the Protesting Catholics; but of such as dissent from the terms, or depart from the spirit of the Protestation.

POSTSCRIPT,

CONTAINING SOME

Occasional and Local Remarks on different Passages of

MR. MILNER'S WORK.

Vol. i. p. 2. note (3.)

CAN Mr. M. ever have read the 2d Book of Herodotus, and suppose 'the early History of Egypt related by him, *the father of history, as he is called*, to be no more than a metamorphosis of certain parts in the book of Genesis?' Or can he believe, 'that the substance of the Iliad of Homer concerning the Siege of Troy, and the immortal Heroes engaged therein, on both sides, is no other than certain altered and misapplied stories relating to the war of the Ten Tribes against the Tribe of Benjamin?' I conclude from his note, that these are the opinions of the unfortunate Ecclesiastics Rocher de Guerin and Bonnard; who therefore certainly deserve to be ranked in the same class with the illustrious visionary in literature Pere Harduin.

P. 9. note (3) 2d v. Pref. p. 4. and p. 110.

An Antiquary is apt to discern much more than the generality of people in the commonest objects. The large Stones, which Mr. M. supposes to be the relics
of

of Druidical worship, are scattered over the whole country, especially near the shores opposite to the Isle of Wight, in great quantities, many of which are worked into Buildings; and others lie between high and low water mark, where they were certainly not placed for any religious purposes. By what means they were so scattered, might be a subject of curious inquiry to a Naturalist.

P. 53. note (5.)

‘Several thousands of young women, some say 11,000 perishing all in defence of their honor,’ seems to exceed the bounds even of legendary exaggeration.

P. 190, and 196.

The *degree* of devastation occasioned by William the Conqueror in making the New Forest still remains a problem. The accounts of the Monkish Historians are probably exaggerated, and are hardly consistent with the present state of that tract of country. Yet more seems to have been done than merely placing it under the *Forest Laws*, however oppressive and pernicious. Mr. Warner, in his *Topographical Remarks, relating to the South-western parts of Hampshire*, has given a Table, ‘the particulars of which are extracted from Domesday Book, containing the assessment and valuation of all the Manors in any degree affected by this transaction, both during the reign of Edward the Confessor, and at the period of the Domesday Survey, an era subsequent to the Afforestation.’——“From this table it appears (he says) that the estates, which were in some degree affected, or entirely swallowed up in the formation of the New Forest, had sunk, (taken as

an aggregate) in consequence of the Afforestation, a little more than *two thirds* of their original value. The number of places in all amounts to 108; 30 of these only were *severe sufferers*; they now occupy the heart of New Forest and are not assessed in Domesday, because, as the record tells, they were taken into the King's Forest." Vol. i. p. 181. 190.

Mr. Warner's seem to be the best *data* for forming a judgement on this case.

'The untimely death of William Rufus in this Forest was considered (says Mr. M.) at the time when it happened, as a mark of the divine wrath against the family of the Conqueror and the person of his Son; who had lately tried to extort a large sum of money from Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, and soon after on his death seized the Bishopric and kept possession of it, together with the others, which he had before sacrilegiously invaded.' Whenever unfortunate events are considered as *judgements from heaven* on the suffering persons, a passage of the incomparable Father Paul, on the death of the Reformers Zuinglius and Ecolampadius, always occurs to me. 'The Catholics (says he) attributed the death of both to Divine Providence, which in compassion to the Swiss nation had punished and taken away the authors of discord.' "And it is certainly (he proceeds) a pious and religious turn of mind to attribute the disposal of every event to Divine Providence; but to determine, *for what purpose* this Supreme Wisdom causes such events to take place, is little short of presumption. Men are so strictly and religiously wedded to their own opinions, as to persuade

suade themselves, that these opinions are as much cherished and favored by God, as by themselves. But the events, which followed, shewed, that after the death of these two persons their doctrines made still greater progress in the Reformed Cantons than before; a manifest proof, that it proceeded from a higher cause, than the work of Zuinglius." (1)

P. 192. Plate.

This is the best representation of our Church I have seen; but I cannot account for the parapet of the Tower appearing in it unfinished, without coping.

P. 296. note (3.)

"The learned Dr. Collier's' Ecclesiastical History is continually referred to by Mr. M. He was an able man, and a *Nonjuror*. As such his opinions were likely to be more acceptable to Mr. M. than those of most other Protestant writers.

P. 307.

"The Prince, who assumed the title of Edward IV, was the son of that Earl of Cambridge, who had suffered the death of a traitor at Southampton for a conspiracy against Henry V, as he was embarking on his expedition to France." He was *not* the Son, but the Grandson of that Earl of Cambridge, and son of the Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield.

P. 311.

Edward IV, "the successful Usurper." Mr. M. had in p. 306 celebrated the virtues of Henry VI,

(1) *Iste Conc. Trid. lib. i. p. 57.*

whom

whom he calls 'a beneficent, merciful, and saint-like King.' He may have been such. But did his virtues make the Title of the House of Lancaster better than that of the House of York? On the contrary, Historians are in general agreed, that the *Usurpation* lay on the side of the House of Lancaster.

P. 353, and Vol. ii. p. 65.

Philip and Mary were received at the Cathedral with the utmost solemnity by the Bishop and his Clergy, who conducted them to the Chapel of the Queen's Patroness, the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was chosen for the scene of this important ceremony. Mr. Thomas Warton has left an elaborate and very curious Essay on this Chapel quite prepared for the press, which I have seen by favor of my Friend Dr. Warton. In it he says, that this Marriage was solemnised at the High Altar, and not in this Chapel; the Chair, used on this occasion, and which still remains, being removed thither afterwards.

Vol. ii. p. 14 and 62.

I perfectly agree with Mr. M. in the date he assigns to the eastern part of the Church, with the lower ailes, between the back of the High Altar and St. Mary's Chapel. It appears clearly to be nearly cotemporary with Salisbury Cathedral. Mr. Thomas Warton's opinion, 'that it existed before the time of Walkelin and was erected by the Saxon Kings,' certainly cannot be supported; and Bishop Lowth's expression, 'that the *whole* Fabric standing in Wykeham's time was erected by Bishop Walkelin,' seems to arise from *inadvertence* rather than *opinion*; because he immediately says, 'that

that Walkelin's Building was of the Saxon Architecture, not greatly differing from the Roman, with round Pillars much stronger than Doric or Tuscan, or square Piers adorned with small Pillars; round-headed Arches and Windows, and plain Walls on the outside without Buttresses; as appears by the Cross Aile and Tower, which remain of it to this day.' Every one of these particulars is inapplicable to the part in question, which he does not mention, and seems to have forgot.

Mr. M.'s is a very propable conjecture, that the Tomb, said to be that of Lucius the first Christian King, is really the Tomb of Bishop de Lucy the Builder of that part of the Church.

P. 16.

Mr. M. discovers much anxiety to prove that the great Nave of the Church was begun to be rebuilt by Bishop Edyndon. I cannot conceive, that any one should wish to rob him of this merit; and least of all Bishop Lowth, who says, what is repeated by Mr. M. 'that he undertook to repair it in the latter part of his time, and by his Will ordered his Executors to finish what he had begun.' "And, whether in pursuance of his design and by his benefaction, or otherwise, it appears, that in the year 1371 some work of this kind was carrying on at a great expence." (1) Mr. M. therefore fixes on the western extremity of the Church for Bishop Edyndon's work, and infers it from the three windows, two on one side and one on the other

(1) Life of Wykeham, p. 194.

of the small ailes, being different from all the rest, having four compartments instead of three, (in all other respects however perfectly alike) and from some small differences in the Buttresses and Pinnacles belonging to them. This may *possibly* be so; but some other reasons perhaps might be assigned for these differences; and I should have thought it most probable, that Edyndon would have been interred, and his Monument erected, in *that part* of the Church, which he had himself begun to rebuild. However, supposing Mr. M.'s opinion right about these Windows, which he ascribes to Edyndon from their *dissimilarity* with the others, I may be allowed to infer from the *similarity* of the upper Windows of the great Aile, that they are *all* Wykeham's. That the Vault of *this part* is his, seems *certain* from his Arms being there. And the great Western Window, commensurate with the whole space of the Aile, and which appears to me a very fine specimen of Window-Architecture, is undoubtedly his also from its similarity of structure to the East Window of his College Chapel here, and to the West Window of the Chapel of New College, Oxford.—After having written the foregoing passage, I happened to turn to Wykeham's Will, (Lowth, App. xvii. p. 34) which seems to put this matter out of all doubt, and in which are the following directions to his Executors, 'that they should *repair* the *Body* or middle part of the Church between the North and South ailes from the *West door* of the Choir to the *West end* of the Church in its *Walls, Windows, and Vault*, handsomely and conformably to the new work
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of the aforesaid Ailes then begun, to the amount of 2500 marks. And he leaves 500 for glazing the Windows both the *upper* and the *lower*, first of the South side, then of the North, beginning from the *West end* of the Church repaired by him.' I will subjoin the Clauses of the Will itself.

“Volo et ordino, quod Executores mei corpus sive medium ecclesiæ supradictæ inter alas australem et borealem, *ab ostio occidentali chori ejusdem ecclesiæ deorsum usque ad finem occidentalem ejusdem ecclesiæ, in muris, fenestris et valto honeste et honorifice, conformiter et decenter secundum exigentiam formamque et modum novi operis alarum prædictarum nunc incepti, nec non et easdem alas per idem spatium in longitudine refici faciant*, ac debite reparari usque ad summam Duarum Millium et Quingentarum Marcarum, si tantum expendi oporteat in opere supradicto pro completionem et consummationem ejusdem, juxta modum et formam superius limitat.”——“Item lego pro fenestris tam superioribus quam inferioribus partis australis ecclesiæ prædictæ per me reparatæ, bene et honeste et decenter juxta ordinationem et dispositionem Executorum meorum vitriandis, Quingentas Marcas. Et volo, quod fiant hujusmodi fenestræ vitreæ incipiendo *in fine occidentali ecclesiæ prædictæ in novo opere per me facto* seriatim et in ordine usque ad completionem ac consummationem omnium fenestrarum dicti novi operis partis australis antedictæ. Et si quid tunc de dicta summa remanserit non expeditum, volo quod circa fenestras alæ borealis totaliter expendatur, incipiendo *in fine occidentali ad primam fenestram novi operis per me facti*, et

sic

sic continuando versus partem orientalem, prout de parte australi superius specialiter ordinavi." From the Tower westward Wykeham *cas*ed and *fashioned* Walkelin's Norman Pillars into their present form, and made the Great Aile and the Side Ailes such as we now see them. I do not think it worth while to dispute with Mr. M. what word, whether *rebuilding* or *repairing* or any other, which he may chuse, most properly expresses this work. But I have dwelt much longer on this matter than it deserves. Wherever Lowth or Warton are concerned, Mr. M. is a *very willing critic*.

P. 19.

'The elegant sweep, which contracts the upper Walls to the size of the great Eastern Window,' Mr. Essex, the Architect, who surveyed the Church some years ago, ascribed to the old Saxon or Norman Church having terminated there in a semicircular form, which he collected from examining the Crypts beneath. He also thought the settlement on the south side of that low part of the Church took place *originally* on the later building being added to the old.

P. 21.

I entirely agree with Mr. M. in thinking that our Church affords a complete series of Architecture from the Saxon and Norman times to that period, when what is called Gothic gave way to the Grecian, which afterwards universally prevailed. The series has its modern termination in the Screen of the Choir, (for I pass over the Bishop's throne) elegant by itself; but wholly discordant with the magnificent structure, of which

which it makes a part. Bishop Gardiner's Chantry is (as Mr. M. says) an absurd medley of the Gothic and Ionic, both indifferent in their kinds; but it is curious in one point of view, as marking the transition of the public taste from the Gothic to the Grecian architecture. Gardiner died 1555. I consider with him this instructive series of Church Architecture, as in some measure compensating the want of uniformity, from whence it arises.

P. 26. note (3.)

The Biographer of Wykeham steps out of his way in order to prove, that Wykeham was mistaken in supposing there was a *middle state*, and that he could be assisted therein by the prayers of others. (Life of W. p. 250.) It is *certain* however, that this author would have spared his dissertation, had he attended to the fervent prayers, which St. Ambrose offers up for the repose of the souls of his Brother Satyrus, and of the Emperor Valentinian and Theodosius; to those of St. Augustine for his mother, and to many passages of the like import in Venerable Bede and the antient Fathers in general. St. Chrysostome expressly asserts, that the practice of praying for the dead, in the Eucharistic Mysteries, was instituted by the Apostles, from a conviction that the former received great benefit therefrom. — This is by no means *certain*; for the Biographer of Wykeham would *not* have considered Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostome, with Venerable Bede and the antient Fathers, as sufficient authorities to justify the practice.

P. 41.

P. 41.

‘Too much cannot well be said of the elegance of Bishop Fox’s Screen at the High Altar; but it seems to have occasioned an irregularity in the disposition of the Church. According to the usual disposition in most of our Cathedrals, *immediately* behind the High Altar is that part of the Church, which leads to the Lady’s Chapel at the eastern extremity of the Building; and in many the view from the Choir is carried on, through the Arches and Pillars behind, in a perspective which has a very beautiful effect, [as in the Cathedral of Wells.] From the High Altar the Choir is usually extended westward *to the Transept*, which crosses from North to South *before its entrance*. This spot commands the whole Building in all directions, and gives it an air of freedom and space highly advantageous. But Bishop Fox seems to have deranged this general plan by his Screen, which is brought forward beyond the original situation of the High Altar, and thereby incloses an *intermediate space* of the same breadth with the length of his Chantry, to admit which this alteration was probably made. On the eastern side of this inclosure are the acute Arches and Pillars, through which, if there had not been so high a screen, there would have been a view from the Choir to St. Mary’s Chapel. This alteration produced another. For the Choir being shortened eastward by this space, it became necessary to lengthen it the other way, and *to carry it down below the Transepts*. Before, the *open Lantern* of the Tower was in its proper place, over the space immediately before the entrance
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of the Choir. No harm however is done, for the Transepts consisting of the rude Norman Architecture of the 11th century would not have contributed to the present beauty of the Church by being more conspicuous; and the Choir, in its dimensions, its Stalls, its vaulted Roof, and its general effect, has very few that can be compared with it.' The particulars I have mentioned were suggested to me by Dr. Warton; whose opinion I have here expressed, and that of his Brother, the late Mr. Thomas Warton. The chief difficulty however attending this supposition is, that, taking in the intermediate space behind the Altar and ending the Choir at the Tower, there seems to be not sufficient length left for it; (being less than two thirds of the present) especially with Stalling, as it now is, to which Mr. M. assigns a date prior to Bishop Fox's Building. The whole number of Stalls is 62. Wykeham in a Visitation in 1393 had ordered the number of Monks to be increased to 60, which had been the number in former times. (1)

P. 42.

"It is proper to mention, that proposals have been made to demolish [Bishop Fox's Screen] together with the Oratories behind it, in order to lengthen the Choir with the disproportioned isles of the East end, in the manner that has been so absurdly done in Salisbury Cathedral."—No such proposal to the best of my knowledge has ever been made, or was ever thought of.

(1) Lowth's Life of Wykeham, p. 192.

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P. 63.

‘ St. Mary’s Chapel was finished about the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.’

“ It would be a vain attempt to recover the name of the Painter of the Histories in this Chapel. I cannot suppose him to be an Englishman; nor does he seem to have been a German. The stile is unlike that of any of those foreigners, who worked in England during the reign of Henry VII. Bernardi, who painted the Kings and Bishops in Chichester Cathedral, and the Procession in Cowdry House at Midhurst in Sussex, although an artist of the neighbourhood, must have been too young to be employed here. These Paintings in St. Mary’s Chapel are of the Italian School with a mixture of some of its early barbarisms.” Mr. T. Warton’s MS. Essay.

P. 89.

Making a passage by the Church from the Close to the Church-yard is certainly better, than leaving the Church open for a public thoroughfare; but such a thoroughfare near the western end of the Building, was I believe the case of most of our Cathedrals. It is so still in Westminster Abbey, and in some other Churches.

P. 91.

The *stated* situation of Cloisters in these Buildings seems to have been the South-west Angle of the Church; a situation perfectly adapted to our Climate. The want of pinnacles, &c. on this side Bishop Lowth does not mention as an *original* defect, but as having become

become so *accidentally*. He and Mr. M. seem to me to say the same thing.

P. 140.

"About the middle way to St. Cross we come to a farm formerly called *De la Berton*, now *Barton*."—We need not go to old French for this name; it is very common and perfectly English. Johnson's definition of it in his Dictionary exactly suits this *Barton*, part of the *Demesnes* of the Priory and still belonging to the Dean and Chapter, and the other *Barton* on the north of the City, which did belong to Hyde Abbey; "The *demesne* lands of a manor; the Manor House itself; and sometimes the Out-houses." In some parts of England, a *Barton* is the common name for a Farm-yard.

P. 145.

In the long and troublesome prosecution, which Wykeham carried on against the Masters of St. Cross Hospital, his Commissioners determined, 'that the Mastership was *not a perpetual Ecclesiastical Benefice*; but a *Temporal Office* requiring continual residence and personal ministry; which determination was afterwards confirmed on an Appeal to the Pope.' (1) This is sufficient to make it at least doubtful, whether the Mastership is properly speaking an *Ecclesiastical Benefice*; though it has been considered as such by its being more than once made an Option, and presented to by the Crown as *lapsing* on the promotion of the Master to a Bishopric. Besides the Lay-Masters during

(1) Lowth's Life of Wykeham, p. 75.

the Usurpation, Sir Peter Young at least (Father I believe to the Dean of Winchester of that name) was such in the reign of James I. So that the inference of the Hon. George Brooke's being a Clergyman from his being Master of St. Cross is not so very clear. (Vol. 1. note (5.) p. 394.) Within my memory and *knowledge*, persons interested in this question have thought the Mastership capable of being holden by a Lay-man.

St. Cross Church is indeed, as Mr. M. esteems it, a very curious specimen of Norman Architecture.

The View of the Hospital in the Plate, p. 147, is too much lengthened.

P. 178, 197.

The taking down of the North, East, and South Gates of the City was not a matter of *taste*, with the want of which Mr. M. charges the *unfeeling* Commissioners of Pavement, but of *public convenience*; for a modern broad-wheeled waggon with its full load could not pass under them. Their structure too was mean, not at all like that of the West Gate, which still remains. I do not remember any proposal for removing this; which was rendered more commodious by lowering the ground, and making the declivity to the street more easy.

P. 200.

St. Giles's Hill Fair, granted to the Bishops of Winchester by several Charters of successive Kings from William II. according to my extract from the Charter, (Mr. T. Warton says *William the Conqueror*,
 bñow Hist.

Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. i. p. 279) is a subject of some curiosity, as expressive of the State of Society, and the Manners of the times. Its continuance during 16 days, the solemnity with which the Gates of the City were delivered up to the Bishop of Winchester's Officers, the Court of Justice belonging to the Fair itself, and the suspension of all trade in Winchester and throughout all the adjacent country to a considerable distance, including Southampton, Romsey, Stockbridge, Alresford, &c. the Bishop's Collectors being stationed at these places to take the Tolls of goods coming to the Fair, all mark the importance of Fairs in the earlier periods of our history. At that time, great part of the commodities necessary for the purposes of common life were not to be procured but on these occasions, and in the places, where they were collected at stated times for the supply of the surrounding country, to which people resorted from great distances. In proportion as the state of Society improved, commodities of all sorts became more abundant throughout the kingdom, and were communicated more easily to its different parts by the means of internal commerce. By degrees every considerable Town has become a *constant Fair*, and furnishes its inhabitants and neighbourhood, not only with such commodities, as the ruder ages required; but with such, as a more comfortable mode of living, more polished manners, and affluence more generally diffused, has rendered habitual and in some measure necessary. And there is probably no Country in the world

world, where every thing, which can satisfy, not only the actual wants of human life, but contribute to its convenience and gratification, is spread so widely over it, and can therefore so easily be obtained.

Hence have Fairs in general declined, because for most purposes they are no longer wanted. But they are still of great use, as so many common points, where at certain seasons the produce of distant countries is exchanged; where the dealers by a sort of agreement meet half-way, and mutually part with the superfluities of one district in order to take in return what they want from another. Cheese, Hops, and Cattle are of this sort; and for the exchange of such commodities Fairs will always continue to be useful.

These I conceive to be the reasons of their having declined almost every where throughout this Country; as is the case of St. Giles's Hill Fair, which has lost all its ceremonies, its high privileges, and importance, and from the duration of 16 days has shrunk to little more than one. But I am so far from supposing this to have chiefly arisen from 'the decay of the City of Winchester,' or the same in other instances from any merely local cause, that I rather attribute it to the general opulence and prosperity of the Country; through all the parts of which Commerce freely circulates, and distributes to its inhabitants almost at their own doors all the necessaries and conveniences of life.

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

See Mr. M.'s Answer, p. 232.

[THOUGH I did not mean to take notice of Mr. M.'s criticisms and censures on my former publications, I am induced to give a specimen of their spirit and fairness from the following passage in Letter VIII.

After mentioning an instance, in which he thinks, that I improperly disallow Church-Authority in my Letters to Bishop Lowth, he thus proceeds.—“Another branch of authority claimed by the Church you do not even attempt to vindicate, but openly condemn. I shall cite your own words : ‘Excommunication, my Lord, is unfortunately the instrument, by which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is to assert its authority. I have no scruple in saying, that the instrument is improper and bad.’ When you wrote this, I believe, you were not Chancellor of the Diocese. But I never heard that when you accepted of that office, to which the assertion of the power and the use of the instrument in question are particularly attached, you retracted this passage. I need not remind you, how strange a declaration the following would be from any Judge in a Civil Court : *I am forced to pronounce a sentence which I believe to be improper, and which I do not even think I have authority to pronounce.*”

I will insert the entire passage, to which he refers.—

“Excommunication,

“Excommueication, my Lord, is unfortunately the instrument, by which the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is to assert its authority. I have no scruple in saying, that the instrument is improper and bad. As such I believe every Ecclesiastical Judge uses it most sparingly, and never employs it without necessity; but as no Jurisdiction can subsist, where an obstinate Party may set it at defiance with impunity, the necessity will sometimes occur, when it must be employed; if submission can be obtained by no other methods, it must be obtained by that, which the Court is impowered to use in the last resort. Beside the spiritual part of Excommunication, a part which never should have been applied to these purposes, many civil disabilities, and those of the most serious kind, are immediately incurred by it; (1) and ‘at the end of forty days, if the offender does not submit to the sentence of the Court, the Bishop may certify such contempt to the King in Chancery, from whence the Writ *de excommunicato capiendo* is issued to the Sheriff of the County; who shall thereupon take up the Offender, and imprison him in the County Goal, till he is reconciled to the Church, and such reconciliation certified to the Bishop.’ I have often wished, my Lord, that the Law in this respect was altered; that the effect, or part of the effect of Excommunication might

(1) Blackstone, B. 3. Ch. 7. Vol. iii. p. 102.

be obtained, as it might easily be, without the previous and unbecoming formality of spiritual censures. Supposing an Ecclesiastical Judge were empowered in cases of contempt, where he must now excommunicate, after forty days to require by a proper instrument the imprisonment of the party in contempt, from the Sheriff or a Justice of Peace, on the same conditions of delivery, when his submission is certified; a part only of the consequences of Excommunication would be incurred, but a part sufficient to secure obedience to the Court; the remedy would be had more easily, and less reluctantly employed; the offensive use of spiritual censures would be avoided; and the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction would owe its support, just as much as it does now, to the intervention of the Civil Power." (1)

My objection to Excommunication, as employed (and employed necessarily) by the Ecclesiastical Courts, was, that it is an act of a *religious nature*, which should not be used as a mere *process to compell appearance* in matters purely *civil* and often very trivial. The greater part of the business in the Ecclesiastical Courts

(1) "Since I wrote this, I find, that a proposal of the same kind was agreed on in Convocation 1714, and intended to be offered to Parliament, that it might pass into a law. Wilkins's Conc. Vol. iv. p. 654. This design dropped on Queen Anne's death, which happened soon after. Such a proposal had before been mentioned in Convocation 1580. *ibid.* p. 300." Letters to the Lord Bishop of London. p. 70—73.

is *testamentary*, which is *purely civil*. If an Executor or Administrator is called on to do his duty, and will not *appear* and *plead*, he must be excommunicated, or the jurisdiction of the Court must be given up. In many other cases, which have hardly any reference to Religion, resort must be had to the same process, even in defamatory quarrels and vulgar abuse. *Excommunication* is in the Ecclesiastical, what *Outlawry* is in the Temporal Courts.

I thought indeed I had been shewing respect to Religion, when I expressed my opinion, (in conformity to that of the Convention^{vocation.} in 1714) that it ought not to be prostituted to such purposes; and my wishes, that the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction should be provided with means of supporting its authority, not liable to the same objection. I should have expected in this instance at least, on Mr. M.'s own principles, his commendation rather than his censure.]



THE END.





